



# ***Daily Report***

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-94-223  
Friday  
18 November 1994

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## Burundi

### Former Secretary of State Assassinated

AB1111161594 Paris AFP in French 1530 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Bujumbura, 11 Nov (AFP)—Fridolin Hatungimana, former Burundian secretary of state for cooperation, was assassinated today it was learned from reliable sources in Bujumbura. On 9 November, a top official of the Ministry of Planning, Emile Ntanyungu, was killed by gunfire in his hospital bed. They were both from the Hutu (majority) ethnic tribe. The reasons for their assassination were not known today. According to police sources, their killings could be connected with settling of scores. Mr. Hatungimana headed the campaign team of former President Pierre Buyoya (Tutsi) during the preparations for the June 1993 presidential and legislative elections. He was a member of the President Buyoya's party, the Unity and National Progress Party, the only party until 1993.

## Zaire

### Reshuffle of Transitional Government Announced

AB1611133494 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1230 GMT 16 Nov 94

[Presidential ordinance issued in Gbadolite on 15 November; read by Professor Lumuna, spokesman for the presidency of the Republic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] I have come to inform the public about Ordinance 94-079 of 15 November 1994, on the reshuffling of the transitional government. The ordinance reads:

Considering the Transitional Constitutional Act, especially under its Article 81, paragraphs 1 and 2; considering Ordinance 94-039 of 16 June 1994 on the swearing in of the prime minister of the transitional government; upon the proposal of the prime minister, the president of the Republic orders:

Article 1. The following people have been appointed substantive ministers for the following ministries:

Transport and Communication:	Joseph Nsinga Udju
Higher and University Education and Scientific Research:	Kissimba Ngoy
Health and Family:	Kom Mbumb Mussong
Environment Protection and Tourism:	Joseph Ruhana Mirindi

Article 2. The following persons have been appointed deputy ministers at the following ministries:

Agriculture and Rural Development:	Willy Mishiki (Bohine)
Budget:	Gervais Kabamba wa Kamamba
Energy:	Omer Tumba

Article 3. The present ordinance amends and completes Ordinance 94-042 of 6 July 1994 on the appointment of members of the transitional government.

Article 4. The president ordinance takes effect from the date it was signed.

[Signed] Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga, Marshal. Countersigned by Prime Minister Kengo wa Dondo.

### Prime Minister on First 100 Days in Office

AB1511212194 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1305 GMT 14 Nov 94

[News conference by Prime Minister Kengo wa Dondo with local correspondents at the Hotel Intercontinental in Kinshasa on 13 November to mark his first 100 days in office, moderated by television director Ngwanzo—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Ngwanzo] Ladies and gentlemen, good evening. Mr. Prime minister, good evening.

[Kengo] Good evening.

[Ngwanzo] The topic for our discussions this evening is on Kengo wa Dondo's 100 days in office. When we say 100 days, we are referring to your promise to give a news conference on the 100th day of the governance by your team. Unfortunately, you were absent; you were abroad. But to date, your cabinet has spend 131 days in office. With your permission we will begin the program, as it were, with the first question. As my colleagues and I have agreed earlier, we will take turns in putting questions to the prime minister.

I open the debate with my first question. Of course as a civil servant, I am easily tempted to start with civil servants' problems. We are accustomed to receiving our salaries or salary arrears—although our purchasing power has already been eroded by the prevailing monetary situation. When you took office, however, it took you three months to try to clear salary arrears, but in the process you created other arrears..

[Kengo, interrupting] To try and do what?

[Ngwanzo] Settle the salary arrears of civil servants.

[Kengo] There was a background noise that ... [pauses] yes, go ahead.

[Ngwanzo] In the meantime, you created your own arrears. So, one—particularly we the civil servants—keeps asking oneself questions. At the time you settled the bailiff's fee of 500 zaire the amount was worth 20 cents, but when the rates were reviewed, the 500 zaire represented about \$5, and then later—I think in January—the same 500 zaire was about \$2. Now our question



is: Beginning very soon, can civil servants expect to receive their regular salaries at the end of every month or do you have a formula to try to compensate or assure workers that they will survive with their very meager salaries?

[Kengo] Thank you, Ngwanzo, but first I would like to contextualize the problem. We have come to evaluate our performance since our government took office. You certainly know that the government has been meeting since 11 November to assess its performance over the past three months on the basis of the implementation of the government's program for which it was appointed on 11 July. You say 131 days but we stopped in October.

The government's program has three major chapters: first, reestablishing state authority by restoring the independence of the judiciary, and rehabilitating the administration and the Army in such a way that if these three services functioned well, fundamental freedoms, citizens rights, and the security of persons and goods could be guaranteed. The second chapter is to sanitize the economic, financial, and monetary environment to permit the relaunching of the economy. Chapter three is to rehabilitate basic infrastructures. This is the basic program assigned to the appointed government, and today we have evaluated what we have done.

Already you have a question on salaries with emphasis on arrears and the erosion of purchasing power. On salary arrears, we came to inherit huge internal and external arrears. On the domestic front, when we took office, only January salaries had been paid. We ensured payments from February to June, and the payment orders for July to September salaries are with the Bank of Zaire and have not been executed.

Among all the institutions, there is one that has not yet understood that things have changed in Zaire and this is the Bank of Zaire. We will come back to this. If you do not mention it, you will give me the opportunity to allude to it and speak more extensively about it.

You are not the only people with salary arrears. We have the arrears of diplomats. To date, diplomats have not been paid for more than 30 months. Many of them have been ejected from their rented houses; the chanceries we were hiring have been closed down. This is a tragic situation for the country's image. Since we took office, we have worked out an independent macroeconomic framework which obviously includes the budget, and we have started to settle the arrears of the diplomatic missions. Arrears for September have already been settled, those of October have already been programmed, and we are going to continue.

The problem of the eroded purchasing power is a complex one, and my impression is that the Zairian national is not conscious of the magnitude of this tragedy. Foreigners have come to our country. Zaire is a hospitable country that accepts all those who come here, but of course those who come here should not violate our

Republican laws and regulations with impunity. You certainly know the causes of the erosion of your purchasing power! When the government on 6 September denounced the injection of counterfeit currency into the economic system, many said that this was yet another fabrication. I was on a mission abroad, and this time around 15 tons of banknotes were impounded.

This affair, like the preceding one, is legally being investigated. Concerning the first case, the court said there is no tangible proof yet, so we can wait a little bit longer, but for the second case, don't we have exhibits? The body of [word indistinct] is there. On top of this, temporary releases have been granted to all. This is just too serious! Here we have the case of another institution that does not want to tow the line of change while the country is forging ahead. The biggest plot against a country's economy is to attack its currency.

Lebanese come here to our country, and we welcome them. They can work, and to top it all, they become agents for printing current notes for the Bank of Zaire. Criminal police inspectors noted down all the serial numbers of the last consignment of banknotes impounded in Mbandaka and went to compare them with the serial numbers of the Bank of Zaire and found that the numbers were the same. Yet some of you ask why the government has not yet published the serial numbers as it promised. This is because the serial numbers are printed two, three, four, five times and put into circulation about four times once they get to the Central Bank. If up to now, we have not made any decision on the issue, it is simply because we don't want to stop the transactions.

With such a colossal plot of this magnitude, how do you expect the government to control the parameters of exchange rates, to check hyperinflation, and third, to stabilize the currency to relaunch the economy? The judiciary is not abreast with the track of events. Those who are known to be responsible for this situation are roaming freely in the streets. They are protected, more protected than Zairians themselves!

The counterfeit currency scandal did not start only in the night of 11 September; it dates back to the monetary reform period. The 11 April administrative board meeting of the Bank of Zaire denounced the EGIMEX [expansion unknown] group illicitly pumping currency notes into the system. Have we committed a serious mistake by denouncing the act? The outgoing prime minister who initiated the reforms signed a letter—there was no contract, the contract was only a verbal one—entrusting the mission of printing the banknotes to a company called EGIMEX. Today we notice that EGIMEX is only the visible tip of the iceberg!

There are other companies that always involve the same persons, and EGIMEX orders the quantity of banknotes it wants, transports these banknotes, supplies the amount it wants to the Bank of Zaire, and gets payment for the quantity it supplied to the Bank of Zaire. In the

meantime, however, it puts into circulation large quantities that we do not control. How could I, the head of government, protect your purchasing power if we do not put a stop to this bad practice? This is why I want to seize this opportunity you have given me to make a passionate appeal to all Zairians to help the government in this difficult mission to sanitize the economic, financial, and monetary environment, because the currency is the attribute of sovereignty. Foreigners can come to our country—we accept them—but what I find baffling is that they should come and violate one of the attributes of our sovereignty and that Zairians readily accept this situation like that!

The counterfeit currency affair is only one of the stages of our moral crisis. To me, the moral crisis is the most serious of all the crises that we experience, be it political, economic, social, or cultural because we want to have easy money, we want to earn easy money without working. The counterfeit currency deal goes as far back as to the time of Bindo and the others. Bindo and the others were also tolerated by the public authorities, encouraged, initiated, and no court action was taken against the officials, and so on. That too was a case of easy money. Today, printing banknotes is also a way of making easy money.

However, how can a country that does not produce support its currency? So now, we have made some arrests. If I am behind time, it is simply because arrests have been made, and this time some Lebanese and Zairians have been arrested not for industrially printing banknotes but for printing banknotes in an artisan manner. The evil continues and thrives because Zairians want easy money. This quest for easy money will continue to erode your purchasing power and completely destroy it. This problem should not be resolved only by the Zairian Government but by the entire national community. All those responsible for the counterfeit currency deal must be tracked down not only by the courts—the government authorities—but by the entire people to neutralize them. [passage omitted]

[Ndombe] I am Ndombe of the SALONGO newspaper: My question, Mr. Prime Minister, is on peaceful cohabitation between the institutions. The domestic and foreign media have, for some time now, dwelt at length on your relations—the government's relations—with the president of the Republic. Some say that we are heading straight for a relationship of conflict between the president and the prime minister. There are even others who claim that the head of state has been sabotaging your efforts. I would therefore like to know what the state of relations are today between the prime minister and his government, on one hand, and the president of the Republic, on the other. Thank you.

[Kengo] Thank you very much. In democracy, the law must prevail. The Constitutional Act of the Transition defined the powers of the institutions. To avoid conflict, the legislature has provided consultation as a mechanism, and this is being carried out both between the

president of the Republic and the government and between the president and the prime minister. However, I am interested in your question because the legislature has stipulated that the prime minister must belong to a political group other than that of the president. If one reads all the newspapers to which you have referred, they all belong to the opposition. Sometimes, a look at the headlines—which often were against President Mobutu—shows that they have overnight become his greatest defenders. I would like to know what they want. Why, if the prime minister belongs to a political group other than that of the president, should we read from morning until night in the opposition newspapers: The prime minister would like to bring down President Mobutu; ah, you know, President Mobutu has just got Kengo; showdown between Mobutu and Kengo; and so on. Do not confuse your dreams with reality.

As I have already said, in democracy, if there is a conflict between the prime minister and the president on the manner of running the country's affairs, the prime minister must have the courage to resign and denounce what is wrong. For the moment, I have not yet seen this conflict, but because those who have been writing about it know already that there is a latent conflict, all they have to do is wait. For, once it is latent, it will surely explode, and in that way, they will reap the fallout from it and designate another prime minister, which is in fact the crux of the matter—Kengo has to go quickly. When they are not talking of conflict, they say: He is going to resign. Why do they not just wait to properly create the climate that will enable conflict to arise quickly? They should, maybe, be careful about playing with fire. The arsonists may very well realize at that point that there are no firemen to put it out. I said in my inaugural speech that we have a lot of crises—economic, social, cultural, and moral—and we should not add a political one to the lot. It is likely that this time around it will carry us all along. Let us rather strive together to do away with political crises so that we can hold elections, as I do not have any ambitions. My ambition is to lead everybody to the elections. Let us therefore not look for conflict with the head of state when there is none. [passage omitted]

[Nawege] I am Karl Nawege of the NATION EN CHANTIER newspaper. Your Excellency, pardon me for coming back on this issue of the judiciary, because I have the impression that you are very much piqued at it, and you seem practically powerless...

[Kengo, interrupting] And you, yourself, are you happy with your judiciary? [laughter from gathering]

[Nawege] I am just an observer; I don't have any comments.

[Kengo] No! You are not an observer, you are an actor. You must also have your opinion, but you just don't want it to be known. But I think the entire Zairian people are not happy about the way justice is dispensed in the country.



[Nawage] I have heard your opinion. I want to ask this question: Do you have the means today to set up a new judiciary in Zaire? And how are you going to go about it in concrete terms?

[Kengo] The government always has the means. First of all, let us go back to the inaugural address. We devoted a greater part of that address on the independence of the judiciary, the social status of the magistrate, and ended with asking the minister of justice to draw up and submit a bill on the status of the magistrate. That bill should improve its working conditions to better motivate him and give him the eminent place he deserves in society. The minister of justice has already begun. He started first of all with a seminar, sensitizing them. One must always start with persuasion. It is only when persuasion fails that sanction should follow. [passage omitted]

[Manduakila] I am Marcelin Manduakila of the FORUM DES ASTRES newspaper. Your Excellency, I would like to come back to the issue of Lebanese, who threaten, as you said, our currency. You spoke of this problem undermining one of the attributes of our sovereignty. According to information we have, these Lebanese manage to have some sort of exclusivity in Asia where manufactured products are cheaper than in Europe. Your Excellency, in the absence of a government measure—because we know that they were chased away everywhere—can't they be called to order? If an opinion poll is conducted now in the country, it can easily be seen that the people are not happy about the things they do. Can't the government—because you spoke of restoring government authority during this transition period—take measures to this end? Thank you.

[Kengo] We thought that by entrusting to the judiciary the case of those involved in counterfeiting our currency, the law would take its course. In the face of the hesitations on the part of the judiciary, the government will assume its responsibility to expel all those who undermine our sovereignty and trample upon our laws and regulations because they claim to be protected by some people. We are no longer going to accept this. The government is determined, if possible, to do what others have done—Ivorians, Sierra Leoneans, Gabonese, and others.

[Ndola] I am Yenga Ndola of the LIBRE EXPRESSION weekly newspaper. Mr. Prime Minister, with your permission, I would like us to remain on the problem of currency, because it is at the center of life for each one of us. Your Excellency, a while ago you referred to the court decision on people involved in the fraudulent importation of banknotes. I am sure you contest the court decision, which means you have other element of evidence on which you base your conviction. I would like us to be more concrete and know who constitutes the network of fraudulent importers of banknotes, especially if there are Zairians and foreigners. My second question, still on the currency, is that public rumors say that with the support of the IMF and the World Bank, you intend

to completely demonetize the banknotes in circulation or change the monetary units. I don't know if the government has already chosen its option on the issue.

[Kengo] The second question is indiscreet. On the first question, the response that I am going to give should, in spite of everything, remain within the bounds of what the government is authorized to say. I would like to say that I am surprised that you journalists cannot give out the names yourselves. You know them. You them very well, but you would like it to come from me. [passage omitted]

Interpol has already begun to give us precise information on the quantity of banknotes brought to Zaire since the monetary reform in October 1993. Through the Interpol, we will know who is involved in this dirty deal, Zairians as well as foreigners—Lebanese foreigners who even had the advantage of travelling with diplomatic passports. Do you think diplomatic passports are issued without Zairian involvement? Two diplomatic passports were issued to two Lebanese with the title of honorary consul at Damascus and Beirut as their compensation. [passage omitted]

[Kisongo] Mr. Prime Minister, my name is Kisongo of DEMAIN LE CONGO newspaper. My question is this: According to the Constitutional Act of the Transition, the Bank of Zaire is under the authority of the government. We are faced with an acting governor who is evidently sabotaging government efforts. Why is the government waiting to suspend him like the former government? We do not understand this softness on the part of government.

[Kengo] Thank you for your question. I would like to tell you that if the government should continue from suspension to suspension, you are going to say again that it is exaggerating things. Unfortunately, what you are saying is right. It is true because the acting governor is behaving exactly the same way as his predecessor. What has just been noticed for the first time in our country is that the government's budgetary deficit was not caused by unexpected increase in currency circulation, hyperinflation, because since we assumed power, the entire government deficit is to the tune of 19 billion [currency not specified] and the deficit of the Bank of Zaire is 80 billion. And this is from debits ordered directly by the Bank of Zaire. We are in the process of studying the problem. The ministers of budget and finance will explain this to the economic and finance commission of the National Assembly, because this has just been noticed by the IMF. From then on there will be consultations between the president of the Republic, the transitional parliament, and the government. In any case, the Bank of Zaire still behaves as if we are still in the party-state context, and it deliberately confuses autonomy with management. [passage omitted]

[Ngwanzo] Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister. We have already gone for more than one hour, and I realize that the more we go into the field of finance, the more we turn

around on the Bank of Zaire, on the currency, and we run the risk of not giving you the opportunity to talk about what you have for us. There are still a dozen more people who are waiting to ask questions on everyday management of the government. Therefore, I would like to make a proposal: I will ask you a question which will, perhaps, enable you to talk about the issues you want to discuss, and perhaps enable us to reduce the number of questions still remaining to be asked. My question is simple.

[Kengo] You are the moderator.

[Ngwanzo] Yes. You recalled the mission entrusted to you by the High Council and Parliament at the beginning of this program. So I want to know from you that on the basis of the decisions made during the various cabinet meetings, if you were asked to tell us the positive things you have done, what would you say?

[Kengo] I think the government communiques should have been published, and you can find the positive things that we have done in them. I cannot come here and enumerate all of them to you. First of all, we started with motivating those on whom we want to rely for the execution of our program. Even your first question was on that. We have increased salaries, however meager those salaries have become today. The IMF, which is currently here, feels the amount of money paid as salaries from January to this day have increased out of proportion. That is why we have to think about reviewing the parameters. In my opinion, the most important decision of all is having been able to expose the counterfeiting of currency, because through this exposure, we are going to be able to control the financial and monetary parameters and revitalize the economy. The economy cannot be revitalized without stabilization; an economy cannot be revitalized with an unstable currency, which fluctuates everyday. [passage omitted] Let us begin with bringing this sector under control, and we will be able to revitalize the economy.

We have gradually started the rehabilitation of the Kinshasa city roads and those in rural areas. We have set the Highways and Drainage Corporation to work. Very soon, with what is happening on the National Route No.1, we will put money at the disposal of the Highway Corporation because it is not only the Matadi road, but there is also the Moniditu to be rehabilitated. [passage omitted]

When we assumed office in June, foreign exchange earnings from the artisanal exploitation of diamond and gold was \$13 million. Today, with the all the inducement measures taken, we are getting about \$30 million. And I have told the marketing company that with all the possibilities that we have, we should be able to arrive at \$60 million per month. [passage omitted]

[Ngwanzo] What about steps towards democratization?

[Kengo] I believe you followed.... [pauses] The bill establishing the National Electoral Commission [CNE] has

already been approved by the government and submitted to the High Council of the Republic-Transitional Parliament [HCR-PT]. The bill on territorial administration has been adopted and also sent to the HCR-PT. The bill on voters registration has been adopted. The bill on identity cards has been adopted, and what is left now is the electoral bill. You know that for the elections, as stipulated by the legislature, it is the CNE that is responsible for all electoral matters. Before coming here, I held lengthy discussions with the European Union representative here, who has just informed me that although structural cooperation has not been established yet, funds are available for voters registration and that he would like the finance minister to quickly sign this agreement with him, because the registration exercise must start very soon. [passage omitted]

[Lioka Likamba, LE GRABEN] Mr. Prime Minister, I am interested in the problem of security or insecurity at our borders. Recently, the Kitona Base was bombed. Boutembo, in Nord Kivu, has also lately been attacked by elements reportedly from Uganda. Just a few days ago too, there were reports of incursions at the Goma border from both sides, that is, from Zaire to Rwanda and from Rwanda to Zaire. This means that our borders are quite fragile—I will not even mention the border with Burundi, where incursions have also been reported. I know that the Angolans came here and apologized, but I believe that Zaire—considering its position in Central Africa, considering its size, and considering its prestigious standing in Africa—should not just content itself with apologies. I wonder if we really have the resources to defend ourselves? And, when we say that we will not sit idly by, I wonder if to some extent we are not a giant with clay feet or, if you like, the big easy-going country which waits to be taunted all the time, because it has extensive borders? The people at the borders do not feel secure, Mr. Prime Minister.

[Kengo] Thank you. First, I would like to point this out to you: Zaire shares borders with nine countries, and in order to rigorously ensure security, it means placing men practically at every kilometer. We cannot do that. This is why our policy has always been that of good neighborliness. Concerning Angola—the national defense minister is here—I received the Angolan defense minister, and believe me, a severe reprimand was made. He explained to me that it was due to visibility problems. We asked for compensation, which at the beginning they did not want to accept, but finally they gave in. With respect to the Boutembo incursions, you know the nature of our relations with the neighboring country. And, from that end, it is often our own nationals, who take refuge on the other side, who come back to carry out attacks.

The resources presently available to the Army are also dependent on our means. This is why in the inaugural speech, we made it our goal to modernize the Army, to restructure it. And, to this end, we are planning to hold an Army delegates conference if our resources permit. The Army must have the necessary collective and individual equipment to be able to face any aggression from



outside, and believe me, we are mindful of this. As for the Nord and Sud Kivu problem, we will soon come back to that.

[Unidentified correspondent] Well yes, Mr. Prime Minister, my question pertains to the border issue and insecurity particularly in Nord Kivu, as well as in Sud Kivu. We have had reports that a complete state apparatus is being set up in Rwandan refugee camps: Former dignitaries have created a true administrative setup, and they are even carrying out mass political awareness campaign with the aim of returning to Rwanda in full force. This puts the lives of residents in the Goma region in jeopardy. In Sud Kivu, particularly in (Ouvira), Burundian refugees are doing exactly the same thing, and their sole hope is to return to Burundi trailing arms. In the Masisi area, Rwandan refugees no longer differentiate between nationality and tribe: The Hutu refugees in the Goma and Masisi region have joined the Hutus who were already residents in the region and were laying claim to land, and they are causing insecurity in the whole region. People in the region seem to think the government is not doing anything to help them. Due to its geographical position, Goma seems an easy target for anyone firing shells from Rwanda. The population is wondering if the government is indeed doing anything to ensure that safety.

[Kengo] I will begin by answering the last question [passage indistinct]. The conflict between the Hutus of Zaire and the Baounde, which was compounded with the arrival of Rwandan Hutus, has taken on dimensions similar to those of last year. The deputy prime minister and minister of the interior took the emergency measures that the situation warranted. We will monitor the situation closely because it is of concern to us, and it can be traced to cattle disputes. We are aware of all that but some things are better left unsaid. We should act first and talk about our actions later. Measures were taken in the area. The strength of the police force in Masisi and [name indistinct] was increased. It is true that Rwandans are getting organized here. When I was told at the Palais du Peuple on 14 June that 10,000 people per minute were flooding into Goma, I told myself that nothing of that scale had been seen anywhere else in the history of humanity. Humanitarian organizations only arrived much later. Local authorities resources were stretched then and they still are.

We appealed to the international community for assistance. I wrote three letters to the UN secretary general in line with the relevant OAU [as heard] laws as stipulated in Article II indicating that refugees must be taken at least 150 km away from their borders. Did we make the wrong decision by accepting that Rwandans take refuge in our country? Now that we have accepted them, the international community has kept us waiting. If clashes erupt along our borders, we will be held responsible, although we have sent a commission to the area and set up a crisis committee there. The commission met with the Rwandan delegation and discussed all the issues

concerning their return, border security, and repatriation of their property. I invited the Rwandan prime minister to the country. We signed an agreement and issued a joint communique in conjunction with the UNHCR. The communique recommended the establishment of three subcommittees in Goma that would be operational by the first half of this month. Our three subcommittees are ready, and we are waiting for the Rwandans to give us the go-ahead.

Because we have said we will come out with the whole truth, I must say this: My impression is that in all our negotiations with the Rwandans, the Rwandans in Kigali are not in any haste to see their compatriots return to their country. For my part, I do not wish to create a second Palestinian territory in eastern Zaire. We are aware of what all the issues you have mentioned. That is why I requested that the primary and secondary education minister, a Hutu of Zaire, go to the area to monitor developments there. His report is enlightening. Rwandans have grouped themselves into prefectures under the command of prefects. There are militiamen as well as the Rwandan Armed Forces. The militiamen are resorting to violence. As you know, 300 people were killed by the militia because they wanted to return to Rwanda. The prefects exert political pressure on the Rwandan refugees to prevent them from returning to Rwanda. In their view, the refugees' return would mean they have recognized the government in Kigali, and this would confer on it the legitimacy the militiamen lack.

We have attained the limit of tolerance and even gone beyond that. When Rwandans occupied schools in Nord and Sud Kivu when the new term began because they were unable to pay their children's school fees, the government decided to give priority to Zairian children. What is happening now? Some teachers are leaving their jobs. We are facing a difficult situation. We appealed to the international community [words indistinct] that soldiers were disarmed. Some people maintain that they have not all been disarmed. There are about 80,000 soldiers in our country, so if 1,000 have not been disarmed, it is because they came through unauthorized borders. It is not easy to check them all. When the word, weapon, is used, it can apply to a grenade, for example. These soldiers must have slipped through the net of the Army or local authorities, but we have disarmed them. All we are asking the international community to do is to act quickly so that they can be sent to the four specified training centers.

The Khan Commission—Khan, the secretary general's special envoy—came here. We talked and they visited sites. Now, we must be given the planes to evacuate the soldiers from Nord and Sud Kivu. The political authorities, which have just formed their government.... [pauses] believe me, this government must not operate on our territory. We have already written to the secretary general asking that a new refuge other than that of Zaire be found for them. We can only give them temporary refuge. The international community.... [pauses] just a

while ago, at 0830, I was informed that Mr. Moose, who was passing through, had just left message that the Security Council will meet this week. Because the secretary general has asked that I attend this Security Council meeting and, especially, hold discussions with the five permanent members, I asked my diplomatic adviser to contact New York to find out exactly when the Security Council meeting is coming on. I will go there specifically for Rwanda. Ask all the government members. All the government members around me are saturated with the Rwandan problem. Yesterday and the day before, during the assessment session, the Rwandan issue cropped up at every cabinet meeting. We want as quickly as possible to dispose of this problem.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, is this problem not rather convenient for the international community's conscience, because all sides have found a peaceful refuge?

[Kengo] No, let us not confuse matters. Some people have said maliciously in some reports that were passed on to us—just like when I visited the people displaced from Shaba and those still remaining in Likassi, who had the Red Cross caring for them—that the humanitarian organizations do not want this problem to end quickly, like in Shaba, because some people—not the organizations, but some people—get something out of it. Is this true in the case of Goma? We are checking on it, but such allegations have been made. When I went to Likassi, the report of one of my ministers, who had returned from Goma and Bukavu, also indicated that some people wanted the situation to last. However, we can no longer allow things to drag on endlessly. All the same, I will go to New York, because settling the Rwandan problem is worth making this trip and worth (?holding such a meeting).

[Correspondent] Your Excellency, still on the same issue, I think Zaire has done a lot so far, but well-informed sources say that the Kigali government would like to take Zaire to court on charges of humanitarian crimes.

[Kengo] No, to date, the Kigali government has not expressed any such intention. Rather, the Kigali government, through its prime minister, during his visit here, expressed the wish that we hand over to the Kigali government all the perpetrators of the genocide and war crimes. However, we the Zairian Government decided—and we informed the UN about this decision—that we will collaborate with the international tribunal to uncover all those who are responsible for the genocide and war crimes and hand them over to the tribunal. The Rwandan Government has just changed its stand on this matter. According to the statement made most recently, and again this morning by [Rwandan] Justice Minister Nkubito the Rwandan Government wants all the perpetrators of the genocide and war crimes not to be judged by the international tribunal, but rather by the Rwandan court. Ah, in that case, I believe we are overstepping the limits of the agreement reached. Furthermore, it is

Rwanda that asked the UN system to help it to uncover and prosecute the genocide and war crimes. This is why the UN system decided to establish the international tribunal, and now they would rather prosecute them according to Rwandan law because the international tribunal does not pass death sentences. Well then, we no longer agree, and we cannot follow Kigali's decision. If we should follow someone, it is the UN system.

[Ngwanzo] We will now tackle the last chapter, which is your European and American visits.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, after your European and American visits, foreign partners made many promises to you, and the country is still expecting economic recovery. Let us recall that your predecessor, Etienne Tshisekedi, also had a package of promises during his term of office. Some eight months before the end of your term of office, don't you fear that the promises made to you might not be honored? Still as part of my question, I would like to know the arrangements you have put in place for the country to get back to work. Thank you.

[Kengo] No, I was not made vain promises. First of all, the problems must be considered in their context. Zairians forget things quickly. The country was diplomatically isolated. All our bilateral and multilateral cooperation was interrupted. I think that the most important thing is to end the diplomatic isolation in which Zaire had been locked since the 11 May 1990 incidents, and that has been done. We have actually put an end to our diplomatic isolation, but we should not think that the end of the isolation means that aid will rapidly come in from all sides. No! Our partners also have their public opinion, and that is why resumption of cooperation will be made in two stages. Right now, there will be cooperation in view of the prevailing situation: that is, humanitarian cooperation, even extended humanitarian cooperation. I was told this: First, there will be humanitarian aid extended to social sectors. Second, there will be more extended humanitarian aid that is extended to the telecommunications and transport sectors. Third, there will be aid to democratization. I have just mentioned one example: that is, the European Union's [EU's] assistance to the population census exercise.

Concerning France, 42 buses will be arriving from that country next month. A USAID delegate will also be in next month to assess the country's various needs and the contributions the United States will make. Belgium and the EU have also decided to grant humanitarian assistance to the country. I came back from my visits to Europe and America not even one month ago, and you know very well that before a political decision is implemented the administration has its role to play. I believe that our bilateral and multilateral partners will assist us for humanitarian reasons.

Structural cooperation will resume only if we personally make an effort to prove that we really want to reconstruct our country. The IMF delegation is still in, and



that of the World Bank will be coming in on 15 November. All that was not easy, as the finance minister, who is here, can testify. He and I fought hard to convince them to come back. Today, the arrears we owe the IMF and World Bank amount to the following: 322 million [currency not specified] concerning the IMF and 80 million concerning the World Bank, which means in all more than 400 million.

At the discussions I held with our American, French, and Belgian partners, the French prime minister clearly told me that if there are indications of sound management—Zaire's problems are mostly poor management—I could—as I did for Congo, Cameroon, and Cote d'Ivoire—pay Zaire's arrears. This is why we should not spend what we have not produced. Concerning the IMF report in addition to all that I have told you, do believe me that [passage indistinct]. Zaire is our country, and we should show that we are aware of its disastrous socioeconomic situation and take the measures likely to resolve all those problems. We should show our good faith through open and rigorous management so that when our partners notice that, they will say we can now assist them. This is because today money is hard to come by. Donor countries are fed up with Africa. Only African countries that manage their resources properly will benefit from foreign resources. The report published before the arrival of the World Bank's mission told us the following: Here are the conditions that you should fulfill. According to your present Gross Domestic Product, your resources under the 1995 budget will be \$130 million earned in zaire and \$50 million earned in foreign exchange, that is in all \$180 million. And you are still behaving as if you are poor? Also, all your expenditures concerning all your employees paid out of the budget must not pass the amount of \$180 million. That means you should reduce your personnel from 600,000 down to 50,000. Furthermore, you must take all the necessary measures that will lead to the privatization of your enterprises.

There is a whole lot of measures to be taken on privatization, and the most important measure envisaged by the World Bank is this: considering the deterioration of Zaire's economic and social situation, and considering the measures to be taken and programs to be initiated, it is no longer a matter of one, two, or even a minimum of three years. To this end, everybody must get involved. There must be a national consensus, from the president of the Republic, through parliament, the government, to the entire civil society, so that if the program is concluded, the World Bank will undertake to find external resources worth \$9 billion within three years. This means that a law must be voted on in parliament and that public opinion must be consulted to avoid the mistakes of the past.

One of you wrote to me saying: We are going to tighten our belts again with the World Bank and IMF coming, but our belts are already so tight that... [pauses] I admit one thing: The 1983-86 Structural Adjustment Program

[SAP] had some drawbacks as far as social dimension is concerned because the World Bank did not take the cost of the social dimension of SAP into consideration. Today, however, since the riots of Rabat, Tunis, Dakar, and Antananarive, the cost of the social dimension of SAP has been introduced into the program. So if this national consensus is obtained, believe me, \$9 billion at the rate of \$3 billion per year is worthwhile. We must rush to act on it, because, as the World Bank report states, it is not only Zaire that needs money. All the countries of Eastern Europe are also under reconstruction. Their economy is also in disaster. As you know, we started the program in 1983 with Ghana. We stopped ours, saying man does not live by congratulations and rigorous management. Today, however, go and see Ghana. Over there in Ghana, there is no multipartyism; there is only one party. [sentence as heard] Donor countries are rushing there with \$1 billion here, \$2 billion there, and it is a smaller country.

As one of our colleagues complained about belt tightening, now you are tightening your belt more. From 1982 to 1986, you were tightening your belt less; from 1988 to 1990, you were tightening less; today you are tightening even more because as soon as you are paid... [pauses] do you know that the inflation rate in our country is 2 percent an hour? I say 2 percent per an hour. That is to say, as soon as you get your salary and you give money to your wife, the money is worth about 10 to 20 percent less, and by the next day it is already worth 40 percent less. This is the situation, and we must put an end to this; and there are no two ways about it. Instead of living above our means, accepting bluffing, and printing unlimited banknotes, we must set out to work. We must set out to work, and there are no two ways about setting out to work, as you think. Zairians should abandon the idea of speculating and earning money easily. They must start working for the things that last longer.

Look around: Only a few Zairians invest in the industrial sector. They all want to engage in speculation in petty trading. Today, almost everybody lives upon the informal sector. That is why when I went to New York, I asked the UNDP to come and help us. The UNDP will come and help us in several sectors, notably in the reorganization of the civil service, in the Rwandan tragedy as far as the ecology is concerned, and third, in how to define and quantify the informal sector in order to integrate it into the formal sector and broaden the tax base, and enable everybody to contribute to the ways and means of the budget.

[Ngwanzo] Mr. Prime Minister, we have used up the 15 minutes that you gave us and we are forced to stop here...

[Kengo, interrupting] But we have not tackled the Rwandan issue. Have we tackled it? Have we ended it?

[Ngwanzo] Yes, yes, maybe you could tell us off the microphone when the cabinet reshuffle will take place. But concerning ...

[Kengo, interrupting] Why off the microphone?

[Unidentified speaker] Because technically, we have come to the end of the tape... [laughs]

[Kengo] Well, off the microphone. Today, the problem of the cabinet reshuffle should no longer be considered a taboo, because the prime minister, in accordance with a special arrangement, does not form the government. It is the two political groups that propose names of those who should be in the government. We have formed the government and have left some places empty for those who were not with us and did not want to enter the government. During my latest news briefing, I stated that my invitation to them has lasted too long and now, I am withdrawing my invitation, and I began holding consultations. You learned that a faction of the Sacred Union of the Radical Opposition and Associates [USORAS]—this is how they are called but we still consider them to be Sacred Union of the Radical Opposition and Allies [USORAL]; it is a matter of understanding—held a news conference during which it said that this faction would be entering the government.

Now, we are going to review the structure of the government—not necessarily to shake up everybody—and reshuffle the government in such a way that we can bring them in so that everybody can be where he must be. This is because, one of the objectives of the transition is to constitute a national union government in which all the political class is represented. So, if there are people who demonstrate their goodwill and want to help us in this difficult task of recovering our country and help in organizing elections, we cannot but accept them and integrate them into the government. This will be done shortly.

[Ngwanzo] Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister. Thank you, Your Excellencies and members of the government, thank you distinguished guests, thank you dear colleagues and dear viewers. Thank you all and good evening.

[Kengo] I also thank you all for the questions put to me. For my part, I think I have been able to provide some explanations on what is being done at the level of the government. I think I have explained things to you, and I also hope that those who will carry this message will do so objectively. Today, as you know, some decisions that we have made and which have not yet been passed into laws are that we have freed the public media before the legislators come in. Today, all the political parties use the radio and the television. I am requesting the free press ... [pauses] I am not requesting the free press to follow the government in what it does or says. What I am simply asking it to do is, because it is alive, it must be objective. This is because, it also has its mission. This mission is to inform and form public opinion.

At this present time, there are sometimes some newspaper reports that are nothing but lies. Stop deceiving the people; tell them the truth and nothing but the truth. I believe that we will all help in forming public opinion, which we need for today and for tomorrow for the election. If public opinion is not objectively formed, everything is broken down and we risk missing everything. I do not think that it is in the interest of anyone if the democratic process that we have begun fails to lead to the birth of the Third Republic with valid institutions, because the electorate was formed by the free press and has made the right choice of the people who must govern them tomorrow. I thank you. [applause]



**Somaliland Leader Views Recent Fighting***AB1711225694 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 17 Nov 94*

[Interview with Muhammad Egal, Somaliland leader, by correspondent Robin White on 16 November; place not given—from the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] It has been a bad week for the Somaliland's leader, Muhammad Egal. A militia group that had been dislodged from the airport launched an attack on the center of the capital, Hargeysa, hitting the police station and the central market. The Army moved in and pushed the gunmen out of the center of the town but there were reports of continuing clashes in the outskirts. Last night, Muhammad Egal told us that today the Army would continue mopping-up operations and finish the job. Well, it seems there has not been much fighting today but that it is far from over. Robin White asked Muhammad Egal what was going on:

[Begin recording] [Egal] At this particular moment, the leadership of our security forces are in session, and they are planning how best to do the flushing out of the remnants of these young militiamen and those who mistakenly and foolishly threw their lots in with them yesterday. So, the mopping up, you know, is postponed for today. It is going to start, you know, I don't know, perhaps tomorrow or the (?day after).

[White] So, the rebels are still in control of parts of Hargeysa?

[Egal] No, no, they are not in control; even they are all in hiding, you know. They are all in hiding; they are being hidden and abetted, you know, by.... [pauses] in certain areas, you know, but they are not in control of anywhere.

[White] But they are still in Hargeysa?

[Egal] Some of them are.... [pauses] Yes, some of them are still in Hargeysa, yes.

[White] Are you prepared to negotiate with them at all?

[Egal] No, no, no [laughs]. That is out of question. Was John Major prepared to negotiate with the IRA? That is the same thing here, you know. Over one year and a half, you know, I have been following a policy of peaceful persuasion of these people, and I have been singularly successful. Most of the other militia groups have accepted my peaceful overtures, you know, and they have disarmed voluntarily. This particular group has proved recalcitrant. What they have done now, you know, they have killed over 100 people, you know. Since last month, they started becoming terrorists, terrorizing people all over Hargeysa. I think they have gone beyond the belt. There is no question of talking to them anymore, except through the point of a gun.

[White] What exactly do they want? Do you know?

[Egal] Well, the whole thing, you know, these people are young people, you know, who have been living in the

south of the country by their guns for the last two years. My predecessor, who was so unbelievably incompetent, you know, could not do what Isaias Afwerki has done in Eritrea. Since 1991, these young boys have been freedom fighters. He could have told them like Isaias did: Put down your arms and take a shovel and build the country, and they would have done the same, exactly like the Eritrean freedom fighters have done. But unfortunately, that incompetent man has missed that opportunity and they are for two years—no, three years now—they have been living a lawless life, and unfortunately, the culture of violence has taken root in them, and, now that they are a cancer which must be (?extricated), you know, it must be cut off from the community.

[White] But the truth is that you have not been able to deal with them yet? Are you sure you can deal with them?

[Egal] Put that question to me three days from now.

[White] So, it will be over in three days?

[Egal] It will be over, yes, definitely. [end recording]

**Says Insurrection 'Crushed'***AB1811105494 Paris AFP in English 1020 GMT  
18 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Nairobi, Nov 18 (AFP)—Troops loyal to the government of the self-proclaimed Somaliland Republic have crushed an insurrection in the capital Hargeysa, the region's "president", Muhammad Ibrahim Egal, said Friday [18 November].

Egal told AFP by telephone that the city was now "very calm" and denied reports that he had fled the capital of the region in the north of Somalia for the coastal town of Berbera. Egal said at least 60 to 70 civilians were believed killed in the attacks since Tuesday, while the death toll for government forces was put at eight, with 20 wounded. He said prisoners had been taken but did not give a casualty toll for the rebels.

Egal said his troops were preparing to "flush out" armed rebels still hiding in Hargeysa on Saturday or Sunday, describing them as "young boys" who behaved like bandits.

He denied a UN report that they were supporters of the founder of the breakaway Republic in former British Somaliland, Abdirahman Ahmed Ali Tur, who was ousted in February last year. [passage omitted]

But Egal said the rebels were "young boys" out to exact revenge on his government for ordering troops to dislodge them from Hargeysa airport where they wanted to continue "their very lucrative activities", levying taxes on arriving and departing flights.

Somaliland declared itself independent in 1991 after the fall of dictator Muhammad Siad Barre, as the rest of Somalia plunged into clan strife and mass starvation,

leading to large-scale intervention by the United States and then the United Nations.

UN peacekeepers are all due to pull out by the end of next March. Rival clan leaders have failed to agree on forming an interim government, and Egal's regime has declared it will have nothing to do with the rest of the country, a former Italian-ruled territory.

**Alliance Visits Hargeysa, Urges End to Fighting**

*EA1711211694 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1700 GMT 17 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Following a visit to Hargeysa by a Somali Salvation Alliance [SSA] delegation and having discussed the visit, the SSA issued the following statement:

1. The delegation's visit was a prelude to making new contacts toward finding ways of ending the existing problems. The visit was also of great benefit to Somali interests.

2. The SSA reiterates its belief in the country's unity, which came about in the first place in response to the people's wishes: therefore the politicians whose objectives are to fragment the country will be shunned.

3. There must be contacts between leaders and all sections of the Somali people in the country. The SSA will therefore continue making contacts such as the visit to Hargeysa with all parts of the country if such contacts are deemed necessary for the restoration of general peace in Somalia.

4. The SSA deeply regrets the fighting in Hargeysa or any other fighting which could bring about a renewed civil war. The SSA appeals to the sides involved to halt the fighting and instead hold a dialogue on the disagreement which sparked off the fighting.

**Ethiopian Radio Says Hargeysa 'Relatively Calm'**

*EA181122594 Addis Ababa Radio Ethiopia International Service in English 1000 GMT 18 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] The breakaway government of Somaliland has driven rebel militiamen from the capital Hargeysa in two days of heavy street battles. The president of the self-declared Republic [Muhammad Ibrahim Egal] was quoted as saying more than 30 people were killed and the local hospitals were full of wounded civilians. Hundreds of terrified civilians fled on foot as clans duelled with mortars and anti-aircraft guns in the streets of Hargeysa on Tuesday and Wednesday [15 and 16 November]. The president said the city was now relatively calm and shops began reopening. [passage omitted]

**Mandela Discusses Foreign, Domestic Issues****Views Angola, Mozambique**

*MB1711203494 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1954  
GMT 17 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg Nov 17 SAPA—Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi on Thursday [17 November] appealed to South Africa to stop the Angolan Government from bombing towns controlled by his UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement, according to President Nelson Mandela.

Speaking on Radio Metro, Mr Mandela said Dr Savimbi had called him but he had been busy with other affairs and could not take the call.

"He then spoke to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and pointed out that Angolan President (Jose Eduardo) dos Santos was bombing certain towns. He had taken a provincial capital and was bombing one of the other towns."

Because of the air attacks Dr Savimbi was unable to take off for Lusaka, Zambia for peace talks aimed at ending the civil war, Mr Mandela said.

The president's office received another call on Thursday evening, from President Dos Santos. Mr Mandela said he was rushing to the Radio Metro studio and was unable to speak to Mr Dos Santos.

He said he and Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe spoke to Mr Dos Santos on Tuesday night and urged him to declare a ceasefire.

UNITA representatives walked out of the peace talks in Lusaka on Thursday, accusing the Angolan Government of violating the truce. President Dos Santos and Dr Savimbi were to have signed a peace treaty on Sunday.

Turning to the situation in another former Portuguese colony, Mozambique, Mr Mandela said he was confident Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebel leader Afonso Dhlakama would not "go back to the bush".

There have been fears that Renamo will resume its war with the Mozambican Government if it loses the country's first multi-party elections.

President Joaquim Chissano has taken the lead and his ruling Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] party is expected win, according to provisional results.

Mr Mandela said Mr Dhlakama had been speaking with Mr Mbeki.

"Before our elections he gave the distinct impression he was now committed to the ballot box and would not go back to the bush. I went to Mozambique on a state visit and met both Chissano and Dhlakama. He (Dhlakama) gave me the same impression. He said the rumours were

incorrect. I believe it, and I accept his assurances because he has been consistent," Mr Mandela said.

**Signs Land Restitution Bill**

*MB1711111894 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0852  
GMT 17 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Cape Town November 17 SAPA—The Land Restitution Bill, the first major piece of legislation aimed at undoing the wrongs of apartheid, was signed into law by President Nelson Mandela on Thursday.

The measure will make it possible for individuals and communities dispossessed under racist laws dating back to the 1913 Land Act to reclaim their land, or to receive compensation. Land Affairs Minister Mr Derek Hanekom said at the signing ceremony that it marked a "wonderful day indeed". "This puts the final touch on something we believe is of enormous historical significance to this country." He also called for nominations to the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, one of two bodies set up by the act.

Mr Mandela said the purpose of the act was not to address the racially-skewed allocation of land in the country, but to bring about "real restitution"—ensuring those who were deprived of land were given back their properties. This was a very sensitive issue and had led to a great deal of concern, especially among white farmers, who felt they faced the loss of their land. The act would do "nothing of the sort", he said. The commission and the Land Claims Court were concerned solely with the question of restitution. "This can be done without depriving people of their property or their farms. There is no need for the widespread concern in the farming community."

Mr Hanekom said that in the rare cases "and I believe they will be rare" where mediation on disputed claims failed and expropriation was necessary, this would not be done in a coercive way, and full compensation would be paid. In a statement issued earlier, he invited public nominations for the commission.

The act provided for a chief land claims commissioner, a deputy and as many regional commissioners as the minister felt necessary. They would have to be South Africans and have either skills and knowledge relevant to the commission or "such legal knowledge or qualifications as the minister may deem necessary".

In the interests of transparency an eight-person selection panel had been set up to advise him on nominations, Mr Hanekom said. "I wish to appeal to the public that these nominations be submitted as a matter of urgency," he said.

**'Shocked' by Police Salaries**

*MB1711212894 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2052  
GMT 17 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg Nov 17 SAPA—President Nelson Mandela said on Thursday [17



November] he was shocked by the miserable salaries paid to members of the police force.

In a Radio Metro interview, he said the problems experienced by the lower ranks of the police force had to be addressed. "It is shocking that a force doing such important work should receive such miserable salaries," Mr Mandela said.

The situation had been brought about by the budget allocation of the previous government. "It was not our budget. The forthcoming budget is the one where we hope to address the problem of the police."

Mr Mandela said only 20 per cent of the country's police forces were deployed in black areas, "where detectives have to use public transport and have to handle 60 or 70 cases".

This encouraged the rise of crime. Mr Mandela said he wanted the size of the police force increased and more policemen deployed in black areas. The majority were deployed in white areas, which was "totally unacceptable".

"We are attaching a great deal of importance to the police force—much more than the SANDF [South African National Defense Force]," Mr Mandela said.

This was because South Africa was not in conflict with its neighbours and did not expect to be invaded.

South Africa needed a strong, well-motivated police force which was paid decent salaries. This applied to black and white policemen. Both were poorly treated, said Mr Mandela.

#### Upset With MK Lack of Discipline

MB1811063994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2216  
GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg Nov 17 SAPA—Former Umkhonto we Sizwe [MK—Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] members threatening to resume the armed struggle and cause mayhem were living under a delusion if they thought they could force his hand, President Nelson Mandela said on Thursday. Speaking on Radio Metro, Mr Mandela said he was sympathetic to the grievances of the MK members but not to their lack of discipline.

Disgruntled former members of the military wing of Mr Mandela's African National Congress have staged walk-outs from their training base at Wallmannstal near Pretoria, complaining of poor treatment as they await integration into the SA [South Africa] National Defence Force [SANDF]. More than 2,000 were sacked from the Army after they ignored ultimatums to return to base.

Mr Mandela said he had held talks with the full General Staff of the SANDF, including Generals Sipho Nyanda and Georg Meiring. Mr Mandela said he had told the General Staff of the MK cadres' perception that they

were not being integrated, but merely being absorbed into the old SA Defence Force [SADF]. Mr Mandela said this was unacceptable. The Army had to be representative of all the Armed Forces, including former liberation movement soldiers. The rate of integration was too slow. "The SADF used to process 20,000 men and women in six weeks. Now they cannot do this in six months."

Mr Mandela said racism still existed in the SANDF, though "perhaps not in the upper echelons". "This has to be stopped," he said.

Living conditions for the soldiers also left much to be desired. Mr Mandela said he told MK members he was prepared to "go into the demands of the soldiers because they are reasonable", but warned he wanted disciplined behaviour from them. "If there is no discipline I will certainly take strong action. I gave them seven days to come back." This was, Mr Mandela said, in the face of strong opposition from both military and ANC leaders who wanted a three-day ultimatum. "We gave them a further ultimatum, and those who did not come back—they are out."

Asked by presenter Tim Modise about the threat of MK soldiers becoming bandits, Mr Mandela said: "Any person is living under a delusion if he thinks he can force my hand through coercion."

#### Praises Media for Anti-Apartheid Role

MB1811064694 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2242  
GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg Nov 17 SAPA—President Nelson Mandela on Thursday praised the media for its contribution to the end of apartheid, but added it was not above criticism. Speaking on a Radio Metro interview he said whatever criticism he had of the press was subject to his appreciation that a free and vigorous press was a pillar of democracy.

Without the support of the media it would have been far more difficult for apartheid to be overcome, Mr Mandela said. He dismissed criticism of his non-appearance at a recent Johannesburg Press Club function as a "storm in a teacup". "I was leaving for the US on an important state visit in which I hoped to mobilise resources for South Africa. Our office informed the press club and sent a senior minister, Kader Asmal. I cannot attend every function."

"There is nothing sacrosanct about the Press Club which would compel me to attend. The Press Club is like any other organisation. My programme was more important than attending the Press Club." There would be differences between the government and the media. "The media must not think it is above criticism. Sometimes they miss the facts on which they base their comments."

One of these incidents was Mr Mandela's criticism of Archbishop Desmond Tutu for accusing the government of joining the "grave train". Mr Mandela said he was



critical because he believed Bishop Tutu would not have publicly attacked the government if he had been given the facts on the controversy. "The media took it that I did not want to be criticised." He respected Archbishop Tutu who had kept the "freedom fires burning" when political organisations and leaders were banned or in prison.

Mr Mandela said the SA [South African] Broadcasting Corporation had made an important contribution "even under the previous government".

"Naturally there will be differences between us and the SABC. It should remain independent of the government and criticise the government when necessary. So far they have done very well and I am very proud of the service provided by the SABC," Mr Mandela said.

### 1st Session of Post-Apartheid Parliament Assessed

MB1711065394 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2205 GMT 16 Nov 94

[Report by Patrick Bulger]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Cape Town Nov 16 SAPA—In a year that turned South African politics on its head (or back on its feet), the liberation struggle moved in May into the eerily historic chambers of Parliament, bringing with it its manner, its garb and its barely concealed suspicion of rules.

And, some argue, that was where the struggle ended, its once-aggressive militancy absorbed by the padded benches of the legislative gravy train, the train the African National Congress stopped only so that its 252 MPs could climb aboard, as one senior ANC official suggested.

Members of Parliament bitterly denied cashing in on the public purse, claiming MP-bashing had become a favourite sport and that in reality the 400 MPs took home about R5,000 [rand] a month and were actually engaged in a new struggle to make ends meet. But the new cars and properties and the general sense of opulence typified by the decision to spend on imported silver cutlery lent the newly elected government the air of the carefree spendthrift.

MPs did indeed spend considerable time and effort bettering their working conditions and benefits, meeting tirelessly on such issues as airport parking for themselves and creches for their offspring. And, at a time when the government declared an end to subsidies-on-demand on the economic terrain, the notion that those in government merited subsidisation across the board was not seriously challenged. Claims that MPs were overpaid—in reality they earn some 20 percent less than their predecessors in the tricameral Parliament did—were later joined by even more serious claims that they were not doing the jobs for which they were being paid.

On the face of it, MPs at times failed to perform the least expected of them, namely the attendance of sessions of the Parliament to which they were elected in good faith. Towards the end of the session, MPs repeatedly failed to congregate in sufficient numbers to produce a quorum—even when pieces of legislation meant to be close to their collective bosom, like water provision, were being tabled and voted upon. One Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] MP argued that MPs were tired after the long session and could be forgiven for being late and for missing sessions.

In the preceding five months the MPs did indeed have a grueling schedule, attending sittings of the National Assembly, the Senate, standing committees on each government portfolio and meetings of the Constitutional Assembly and its sub-structures.

One veteran opposition MP felt the new arrivals were mistaking activity for achievement and later there were accusations that while the new system fetishised the consultation that demanded meeting after meeting, it was seldom prepared to accept the advice it had solicited. The process of consultation reduced legislation to a trickle so that the 94 bills that were to be tabled did not see the light of day. Legislation to provide new health and education systems has yet to be tabled. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission will only be legislated next year. Instead, government departments spewed forth white papers, green papers and discussion documents at a rate and volume that numbed MPs.

There were legislative advances.

Under the baleful glare of such stalwarts of apartheid as Hendrik Verwoerd and P W Botha whose likenesses still adorn the walls of Parliament, the new legislators set about undoing the wrongs of apartheid. A land restitution bill, which seeks to return land confiscated under apartheid to its rightful owners, was passed. Housing Minister Joe Slovo made rapid strides on developing enabling legislation to get the promised housing boom off the ground.

New labour legislation is in the pipeline. Minister Without Portfolio Jay Naidoo steered through a white paper on reconstruction and development. As the session went on, Finance Minister Derek Keys resigned to be replaced by former banker Chris Liebenberg, a non-party man who took his seat in political nowhere land between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress. President Nelson Mandela had already introduced "belt-tightening" to South Africa's political glossary and Mr Liebenberg warmed to the theme. The ANC was quick to point out that it, not the National Party [NP]—reduced to minority status for the first time since 1948—would be the one to introduce economic discipline. The ANC dropped talk of nationalisation in favour of such self-denying concepts as rationalisation.

The more the NP tried making an issue of the ANC's Communist Party connections, the more the ANC asked, simply but loudly: What about apartheid? There was

little love lost between the ANC and the NP. Instead the ANC warmed to the right-of-centre Freedom Front, supporting its right to lobby for a volkstaat [Afrikaner homeland] where the NP opposed such a right. The ANC back bench added venom to its anti-NP orientation, allocating to all the other parties the chairmanships of portfolio committees, and leaving for the NP a few "housekeeping" committees.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon became the scourge of the ANC benches, launching sharp speeches to attack what he described as the ANC's tenuous commitment to the rule of law. As the session drew to a close, the sharp differences that separated the parties less than a year ago receded into the past, mere reminders of an acrimonious history.

Even IFP leader and Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi seemed to have mellowed, illegal aliens replacing civil war as his pet subject.

The sharpest reminders of unsettled grievances were, at the end of the session, apparently not on the benches of Parliament, but on the streets outside as students, teachers, civil servants, hawkers, hotel workers and fishermen marched regularly on Parliament to demand a better deal for themselves. One group of protesting hawkers presented Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel with a bunch of red roses and wished him well with their grievances.

Whether the collective disgruntled will be quite as ready in future with bouquets will become apparent next year as the pressure on the government and Parliament to deliver the promised change picks up steam.

#### **Azapo Official on Black Consciousness Role**

*MB1611093694 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1830 GMT 15 Nov 94*

[Interview with Azanian People's Organization Publicity and Information Secretary and Central Committee Member Vuyisa Qunta by SABC announcer Thandeka Gqubule on the "Agenda" program—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Gqubule] In the days when many liberation organizations were banned, the Azanian People's Organization [Azapo] was legal, but today this black consciousness movement finds itself on the fringes of the political mainstream in this country. It is still regarded as largely anti-white and questions are still being asked about its arms struggle. With me to discuss these issues here in the studio is Vuyisa Qunta of Azapo's Central Committee. Mr. Qunta we understand that your organization is re-profiling itself and repositioning itself to suit the new conditions. Would you tell us about this attempt?

[Qunta] Thank you Thandeka. I hope I'm not starting off by being contentious but I'll have to redo the framework because the BCM [Black Consciousness Movement] faced as great an amount of repression as any other

liberation movement, both at the time of the banning of our early organizations and after the murder of Steve Biko. Azapo was one of the organizations that were restricted frequently during the states of emergency, and if one has to put a fine point to it, Azapo and the BCM have lost more in terms of top national leadership than all other components of the liberation movement put together, if you count people like Onkgopotse Tiro, if you count people like Steve Biko, (Mthubi Kashesi), etc.

[Gqubule] But it is true that you now find yourselves on the margins of the political discourse or mainstream discourse in this country? Are you trying to become an extraparlimentary opposition that's very vocal?

[Qunta] Well, actually we are quite pleased with the extent to which Azapo is being looked for by black people now that all the things that we predicted would happen out of this process are happening, and black people are finding themselves at the bottom of the social pyramid in this country. So we don't feel particularly marginalized and we have just come out of a congress where I think we have defined our position quite clearly. We have got a lot of unfinished business.

[Gqubule] But it is common knowledge that you do not have a mass base and your movement has tended to be seen as an intellectual group? Are you making any attempt to acquire a mass base or to move in that direction?

[Qunta] Well, I was taking up the very assumption of not being a major movement or not having a mass base because we definitely feel we have. There was a time when every liberation movement did go through what appeared to be a trough but there has never been as great an attempt to institutionalize this supposed smallness of a movement and wherever you go, whether it be in the labor field, where unions such as the South African Health and Public Service Workers' Union are aligning themselves alongside Azapo and whenever there is a crisis black people are looking for Azapo. So we don't feel the discomfort some people seem to feel on our behalf.

[Gqubule] You have been seen though as an intellectual movement. In fact, to your credit, you have produced three of the premiers in this country.

[Qunta] Actually it's six. If you look at the nine premiers the only three who had not been through the school that is Azapo and the BCM are that of the Eastern Cape, the Western Cape and KwaZulu. We are very pleased that people see us as intellectuals because we recruit ordinary black people and we give them skills and the ability to organize and whenever you find a white person speaking for any of the other liberation movements...[changes thought] or political parties, nobody says Dawie de Villiers is a PhD in Theology. Intellectually it's intimidating. It only comes out when Comrade Mosala speaks. Whenever they see De Klerk they don't say he is a lawyer, he is an intellectual. It's accepted. Whereas when



they see, say the Western Cape regional chairman of Azapo Jimmy Yekiso the issue comes up and we feel it's natural for black people to be intellectual and to lead the struggle.

[Gqubule] Let's talk about Azanla [Azanian Liberation Army] and the arms struggle. Recent reports quote one of your leaders as saying that Azanla would not attack black people. Does this mean that it would attack white people and if so what would this mean for the fragile unity in this country?

[Qunta] Well, as of the time that the black-led coalition government was installed in this country the Azanian National Liberation Army has suspended all armed activity against the state and against any persons and businesses and we are very pleased with the level of discipline in Azanla and we feel it's an asset to black people. It is there to defend them and if you were to put all the liberation armies and conventional forces together and deploy them in an area such as the service corp, looking after the wellbeing of people, we are sure the young women and the young men of Azanla would acquit themselves better than any.

[Gqubule] Why haven't you become part of the integration process and the SANDF [South African National Defense Force]?

[Qunta] Well, that process doesn't lend itself to any strong appeal for people to join it when you look at the number of desertions by people who have been party to those agreements and we are not even party to those agreements. But that's not a situation about which we can take any joy, we can derive any joy. In fact we are very, very concerned that some kind of settlement, some kind of compromise or rapprochement has to come up within the integration process because it presents a threat to security. It's not something that we would encourage or take. It would be very irresponsible to take any joy out of it.

[Gqubule] Well thank you Mr. Qunta for joining us and we think that the debate around black consciousness will continue, you know, throughout the country and as being part of the entire liberation movement.

[Qunta] Thank you.

#### **National Defense Force Fines MK Deserters**

*MB1711145994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1323  
GMT 17 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pretoria Nov 17 SAPA—Forty-five former Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—MK] cadres who went absent without leave from the Wallmannstal military base near Pretoria were each fined R75 [rands], the South African National Defence Force [SANDF] said on Thursday [17 November].

In a statement in Pretoria the SANDF said all had pleaded guilty. The military trials of the remaining 4,039

former MK troops who were absent without leave from the base between October 31 and November 6 were continuing. They are all being tried individually.

Army spokesman Lt-Col Brian du Toit said the process was time-consuming and was causing further delays in the integration of the former cadres into the SANDF. He could not say when the trials would be completed.

The SANDF statement said uncertainty on the legality of applying the military disciplinary code to the former MK members had led to a temporary suspension of the trials on November 11.

"However, on November 14 the state law advisers confirmed that the members concerned were in fact subject to the military disciplinary code in the rank of private and the trials are now continuing."

The SANDF said justice was "not being dispensed with a sledgehammer, but properly and in the spirit of training those affected in the disciplinary requirements of a professional army".

Col du Toit said the fines would be subtracted from the monthly pay of the trainees who had also forfeited pay for the period of their absence.

#### **SANCO Concerned About 'Conflict' With ANC**

*MB1611211794 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1932  
GMT 16 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg Nov 16 SAPA—The South African National Civic Organisation [SANCO] on Wednesday [16 November] said it was concerned about "the significant level of conflict" between it and the African National Congress.

Officials told a press briefing in Johannesburg that SANCO's national executive committee had agreed there was a need to develop a record of understanding with the ANC, defining their relationship.

The briefing followed five days of executive committee talks on SANCO's future.

The officials said SANCO wanted to clarify areas of co-operation with the ANC and simultaneously ensure SANCO's independence. SANCO would arrange a meeting with the ANC to discuss the matter.

SANCO had also decided to strengthen its relationship with other organisations such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

SANCO President Lechesa Tsenoli said the civic organisation was growing rapidly, not dying as some people thought. He cited the recent launch of a KwaZulu/Natal Midlands Branch, plans for a North-West branch and the establishment of new "civics" and sub-regional bodies, many of them in informal settlements and rural areas.

Mr Tsenoli said SANCO had an important contribution to make in ensuring democratic local government. He

said SANCO had decided to support the ANC in local government elections but candidates should enjoy public support in addition to being endorsed by the ANC.

SANCO's executive committee defined the organisation's role as ensuring democratic government, accountability, people-centred development and improvements in people's quality of life through public participation.

#### NP Criticizes ANC 'Seizure' of Civil Service

MB1711145294 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
17 Nov 94 p 6

[Report by Jo-Anne Collinge]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The National Party [NP] in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] says it will not "stand aside and allow an unchallenged seizure of control" of the civil service by the ANC. NP provincial spokesman Daryl Swanepoel this week responded to statements made and resolutions taken at the ANC's recent provincial congress.

Swanepoel said the ANC's proposal that it strengthen its capacity to govern by "taking hold of the public service, occupying strategic positions in the bureaucracy and ensuring civilian control over it" was reason for grave concern. Not only did this suggest a tendency toward nepotism, but a politicisation of the civil service, he said. "The ANC must guard against the obsession for power which in the end may lead to a civil service indistinguishable from the ANC itself and accordingly accountable to nobody but themselves."

The ANC conference took the position that it was precisely because the bureaucracy had been moulded in the image of NP policy that it required changing. Premier Tokyo Sexwale warned that if the elected government failed to transform the bureaucracy—particularly by "affirming our people at the top"—then the bureaucracy "will co-opt us and we shall no longer serve the interests of the people but of a bureaucracy with interests of its own."

The PWV administration is essentially the inherited Transvaal Provincial Administration [TPA]. Figures released mid-year revealed that 89 percent of the TPA's head office staff was white and that only 1.8 percent of jobs graded at assistant director level and above were filled by black people.

Swanepoel said he was concerned at the PWV legislature's efforts to pass legislation this year for the setting up of the Provincial Public Service Commission.

#### Statistics Show Growth Prospects Decline

MB1611171794 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
16 Nov 94 p 18

[Report by Claire Gebhardt]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Growth prospects for 1994 have been halved from 4 percent to 2 percent with the release of latest gross domestic product (GDP) figures.

Central Statistical Service (CSS) figures show the economy grew by a disappointing annualised 2.6 percent in the third quarter following widespread strike action and inclement weather. This follows on a 3.6 percent decline in first-quarter GDP and a 1.6 percent increase in the second quarter.

Economists said yesterday that even a forecast 2 percent growth for the year as a whole might not be achievable unless fourth-quarter growth came close to 5 percent. Seasonally adjusted, real GDP at market prices was 2.3 percent higher in the first nine months of 1994, compared with the same period last year.

The non-agricultural sector showed positive growth of 1.8 percent for the seventh consecutive quarter, compared with 0.4 percent and 0.7 percent respectively and 0.7 percent respectively in the first two quarters. But the mining sector recorded almost no change in production. The manufacturing sector recorded positive growth of 1.8 percent after declining by 1.3 percent and 0.6 percent respectively in the first two quarters.

Economists said the disappointing figure was puzzling, given strong revenue figures, sharply rising imports and excellent corporate earnings. The conundrum is that despite tales of consumer hardship, the government is dead on target to rake in its budgeted R28.6 billion [rands] from VAT

And VAT collections 15.3 percent up on last year imply that spending is going ahead apace. This is despite real interest rates being higher than they have for many years, double-digit inflation and the effect on consumers of fiscal drag and the transition levy.

For several months there have been successive massive upward revisions of retail sales statistics. Sales for July were recently revised sharply upwards to 6 percent year-on-year from a negative 2.6 percent, suggesting boom rather than recessionary conditions. Yet the economic portents are gloomy.

Growth of 2 percent seen against population growth of 2.6 percent a year means there'll be no dent in the huge backlog of unemployment this year. Where is the growth estimates go wrong?

Most economists say they had partly factored in the pre-election violence and uncertainty and the huge number of public holidays and stayaways which hit production. What they didn't expect was the strike action which followed in the rosy aftermath of the election.

The motor industry strike alone knocked 0.5 percentage points off annual GDP. Another unexpected factor was the fall-off in mining production because of industrial action.



Frankel Pollak Vinderine economist Mike Brown said demand was growing, while output wasn't. "On the one had you've got good consumer and fixed investment spending, on the other, poor output performance in mining, agriculture and manufacturing because of strike action and too many public holidays."

#### South African Press Review for 17 Nov

MB1711115694

[Editorial Report]

#### THE CITIZEN

Mbeki, Police Crime 'Scare'—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 16 November in its page 6 editorial refers to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's remark that police claims of an "avalanche in crime" are linked to their attempt to secure a higher budget," saying: "No, Mr Mbeki. The crime avalanche is real." "While you lead your complacent, protected life, Mr Mbeki, Minister of Safety and Security Mr Sydney Mufamadi says the police will have to freeze all posts, abandon their 1995 recruiting drive, and even retrench members if they are forced to implement a 4 percent budget cut in 1995/96." Mr Mbeki should be "supporting Mr Mufamadi to secure a high budget rather than denigrating the police and suggesting they are staging a crime 'scare' to get more money."

#### THE STAR

Payment for Services—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 17 November in a page 22 editorial believes "people should pay for services they receive," and welcomes the announcement that the government "is to launch a major drive to ensure that people pay up." "There have been previous hints from ministers Jay Naidoo and Joe Slovo that non-payment threatens the whole RDP [Reconstruction and Development Program] and specifically its housing component."

Mbeki Rebuked for Police/Crime Remark—A second editorial on the same page says Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has been rebuked, "rightly so," for implying that police generals have exaggerated the gravity of the threat posed by crime. Mbeki's statement is "unacceptable" because "it implies that the police slyly manipulate statistics for their own ends," and because "it suggests that the crime situation is not as bad as the official figures indicate." "South Africa, whether Mbeki accepts it or not, is threatened by a rising tide of crime. The installation of a democratically elected government has seen a subsidence in politically motivated violence but not of criminal violence." The prevalence of crime is "worse than the official statistics indicate."

#### SOWETAN

Rent Boycotts—"We hope the government's intention to crack down on rent defaulters will have a creative sweetener, like giving all the houses to renters," declares

a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 17 November. "Political leaders started the rent boycott movement which was supported by most residents. No serious effort was made to meet the demands that started the rent boycott. No sane person will boycott the payment of community services. Everyone paid rent religiously in the past. For reasons known to all, that culture was turned on its head and very few people actually pay today. If the Government gets tough about breaking the boycott, they should keep the above in mind."

#### South African Press Review for 18 Nov

MB1811124494

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

Parliament Rises With 'Optimism'—"One of the harshest lessons of government has been that it requires vast and time-consuming amounts of administrative input," declares a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 18 November. By the end of this first session of parliament, "an ambitious legislative programme could not be met." Almost all ministers "have discovered that unscrambling the apartheid egg is a task of nightmarish proportions." Progress at provincial government level has also "been slow." "Elsewhere there are growing grumbles about the fact that change is not being applied quickly enough. And yet South Africa can look towards the new year with optimism. It will surely bring the land closer to normalcy, which, given its fractious past, is no mean achievement."

#### SOWETAN

Whites Still 'Powerful', Blacks 'Powerless'—Mathata Tsedu writes in his "Black Eyes" column on page 10 of Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 18 November that: "Six months into the new government, there is still no peace for poor black people. They cannot even stay in their miserable shacks, without some white property owners or farmer claiming a piece of Africa as his own, and getting what is essentially the white man's court to side with him." President Mandela must be in an "uncomfortable situation" and it must "curdle his blood" to see the people who voted for him being "hounded by what has now become his laws, his government, his courts. The fact that the property owners can so easily evict people is indicative of how powerful they are and how powerless blacks still are."

#### BUSINESS DAY

Union Agreement With Motor Manufacturers—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 18 November in a page 10 editorial says agreements between Volkswagen and Mercedes Benz and the representative unions in those companies "are a critical step towards ensuring the survival of the motor assembly

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industry as tariff barriers fall and international competition becomes more intense." However, since survival of some depends on the elimination from the market of others, it is likely that the "big seven" manufacturers "will be rationalised into fewer than that in the coming years." The agreement with Volkswagen "is a remarkably advanced agreement for a company which has suffered serious industrial relations difficulties over the years." The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa leadership "is renowned for its sophisticated approach to labour relations. More than once, though, the rank and file has failed to follow. This will be a stern test for the union."

**Civics-ANC Tension**—A second editorial on the same page says the warning by South African National Civic Organization, SANCO. President Lechesa Tsenole that 1995's local government elections could be derailed by tensions between certain civics and the ANC "is worrying and should be taken seriously. Rivalry over allocation of seats is already stalling the establishment of many transitional municipal councils." While SANCO proclaims it does not want a political role in local government, "its bid to gain a foothold in interim structures suggests a hidden motive, perhaps getting a hand on the

levers of public spending." Although political competition is "desired," South Africa is "urgently in need of effective avenues for reconstruction and development," and a protracted power struggle would create division and discord. SANCO and the ANC "need to put aside burgeoning ambition and narrow interests."

#### WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN

**Possible Dismissals if Public Servants Strike**—"It would be churlish to ask why, after 46 years of loyal service to apartheid lawmakers, the members of the PSA [Public Servant's Association] are directing their first strike threat at a democratically-elected government," notes a page 30 editorial in Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English for 18-24 November. The government has proposed a freeze on salaries above 46,000 rands a year and its policy is to "close the apartheid wage gap in the public service, and by all accounts it is determined to stand its ground." Under the interim constitution, the public servants, "this pampered elite, enjoys a level of job security no other South African can claim. By opening up the possibility of mass dismissals—a venerable South African employer tactic—a PSA strike could ironically answer the government's prayers."

## Angola

### UNITA Representative: Rebels Will Not Sign Peace Pact

AB1811123894 Paris AFP in English 1224 GMT  
18 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Abidjan, Nov 18 (AFP)—UNITA rebels will not sign a peace pact with the Angolan government as scheduled on Sunday [20 November], the UNITA representative here said Friday, alleging truce violations by government forces.

"We cannot go to Lusaka because government forces are preventing us from leaving by shelling us," John Marques Kakumba said in Ivory Coast's economic capital.

Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos were due to sign the Lusaka peace protocol in the Zambian capital on Sunday.

On Tuesday, the two sides agreed on a truce after major government offensives against UNITA-held towns.

On Thursday, the UNITA delegation walked out of final negotiations in Lusaka on details of a ceasefire and other military issues, as the warring parties traded allegations of continuing attacks in spite of the truce.

The UN-mediated peace protocol is meant to end 19 years of devastating civil war in the southern African country.

### UNITA Explains Reasons for Pulling Out of Talks

MB1711164994 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 17 Nov 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] No sooner were hopes of peace in Angola raised than they have been dashed again. A truce was supposed to be implemented in the civil war between the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels from last evening so that the peace negotiations in Lusaka could continue, but now UNITA has walked out of the talks, claiming that fighting is still continuing with the capture of Uige by the government in violation of the truce. On the line, Robin White asked UNITA's United Nations representative Marcos Samondo why they had been so hasty in walking out of the talks.

[Begin recording] [Samondo] Well, basically, the MPLA government had betrayed the Angolan people, and they have lied to the international community once again. It suddenly pledged to the international community that they wouldn't attack Huambo, and yet they did. And less than 48 hours ago, it signed a truce agreement which is

(?promptly) disregarded [word indistinct] by capturing Uige. So today in Lusaka, our delegation just stopped talking to the government, and we really want to have some clarification. We want to hear from them what do they really want to do in Angola. Is that peace or is it going to be war?

[White] I think they are claiming that they actually took Uige before they announced the cease-fire.

[Samondo] Well, well, well, if you believe that, you will believe also what they said—that they would not attack Huambo, that they would be nearby to prevent UNITA from withdrawing weapons from Huambo. I think the Angolan Government, they have shot themselves in their own foot. They are lying to the international community. They are putting the Lusaka accord into jeopardy, and I think it is about time for the international community to move and impose very stiff sanctions against Angola, because they have shown to be a pariah government which cannot be trusted by anybody.

[White] How important was Uige to you?

[Samondo] Oh, my goodness, Uige, I mean, Uige was the power and crown, the crown jewel. Uige is a province which was the most advanced in terms of economic development. UNITA has done miracles in Uige. Factories were working, and the standard of living was better than even in Luanda. And also, mind you, also that in the agreement itself, in the Lusaka agreement, actually, the Angolan Government has given Uige governorship to UNITA, and the question is: If the Angolan Government had already agreed in Lusaka that it is going to be a governor from UNITA which is going to—with a broad leadership—why taking over by tanks? Why fight over all night with long range artillery? What is the Angolan Government looking for?

[White] If it was so important to you, why do you seemingly let it go so easily?

[Samondo] I don't think it was let gone so easily, I mean, we put up a very, very, very stiff fight. But when you have a 400-men mercenary detachment and other with a very tremendous sophisticated equipment, plus also, I mean it did come after 11 hours after an accord of cease-fire, where all the troops were to stop. And we have given orders for our troops to stop, but the MPLA somehow they took it as a sign of weakness, and they just came with tremendous equipment, a lot of machinery from South Africa and the latest technology which the petrol-dollar could buy, and so on we go. Uige is now at the hands of the MPLA government, but will that create peace? I think no. [end recording]

### Discusses Talks Suspension

MB1711175994 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 17 Nov 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] The sooner were hopes of peace in Angola raised and they had been dashed again. A truce was supposed to be implemented in the civil war between the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels from last evening so that peace negotiations in Lusaka could continue, but now UNITA has walked out of the talks, claiming that fighting was still continuing with the capture of Uige by the government in violation of the truce. On the line to Lusaka, Elizabeth Ohene asked the leader of the UNITA delegation, General Eugenio Manuvakola, why they had gone so far as to walk out of the talks.

[Begin recording] [Manuvakola] We are not understanding the behavior of the government. We are signing too many documents. We have initiated the protocol. We signed the agreement of truce, but today morning, the government has taken the town of Uige, and it is moving to Negage, the next town. We are not understanding if there is a truce or not.

[Ohene] Isn't the government saying that they took Uige before you signed the truce?

[Manuvakola] That is the information they are telling to the international community. The forces which have taken Uige approached by the northwestern direction from the Nzeto, Songo, and they were around 2000 [1900 GMT] about 16 km from the town of Uige. From there, they bombarded heavily the town during all the night. Our forces had offered resistance, but this morning at 0700 the forces of the government took the town. Until 0930 this morning, when I received the first information, the fighting was going on with our forces out and surrounding the town. They are preparing a second assault today to the town of Negage, south of Uige.

[Ohene] General, is Uige a very important town for you?

[Manuvakola] It is one of the 18 capitals of our provinces. It is not important for us within the framework of the protocol, but we think that we need the peace to go to the protocol, to implement the protocol. Uige is a town of Angola as others, as Huambo, as Benguela or Lobito.

[Ohene] So, now what is going to happen?

[Manuvakola] We suspended our participation. We are in contact with our leadership, and we await for the decisions. We are not allowed to retreat from the meetings, because our mandate was given and was not taken out. Then all the leadership will give us the right orders to go on or to retreat, but suspension, we took it ourselves.

[Ohene] So, when do you expect to hear from your leadership?

[Manuvakola] All this day, we are receiving too many calls from the press and from our leadership. We are in contact. [end recording]

### Says No Mandate To Withdraw

MB1711203794 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The delegation from National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has no intention of leaving Lusaka. It has only decided to suspend the discussions on military issues.

Eugenio Manuvakola, head of the UNITA negotiating team, said it is not up to him to decide whether to withdraw from Lusaka. He will have to wait for a decision from his leadership, wherever it may be right now.

[Begin Manuvakola recording] Well, as a negotiating team, we do not have a mandate from our leadership to decide to withdraw from Lusaka. We just took the initiative to suspend our participation, and that is what we did. [end recording] [passage omitted]

### Correspondent Says UNITA Has Not Abandoned Talks

MB1711195994 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] today requested the Angolan Government to explain what it described as a violation of the truce agreement that went into effect in the country about 24 hours ago. Dialogue has not been interrupted in Lusaka. Today, the mediator and observers in the process held a meeting with the military leaderships of the government and UNITA. Abilio Cambambe talked to our correspondent Pedro Manuel in Lusaka a few moments ago.

[Begin recording] [Cambambe] Pedro, reports reaching Luanda reveal that the UNITA military delegation has abandoned Lusaka. Is that true?

[Manuel] Well, it is not true. The UNITA military leadership has not abandoned Lusaka. It says it is going to abandon Lusaka if the government does not give what the delegation described as a plausible explanation of the military developments in Uige. The UNITA military delegation said the government took Uige this morning during a truce period. About 30 minutes ago, the mediator held a meeting with the government delegation to obtain the government's version of this issue. The meeting is still under way at the Mulungushi Conference Center. So, it is not true that the UNITA military delegation has abandoned Lusaka. That is a lie.

[Cambambe] We should now wait to hear the government's version of UNITA's allegations in Uige?

[Manuel] Absolutely. Everyone here is waiting to hear what will come out of the Mulungushi Conference Center. A few moments ago, UNITA held a press conference. UNITA's General Manuvakola said that if the government's explanation is not plausible, then the

UNITA military leadership will abandon Lusaka. A meeting is currently under way between the mediator, observers, and the military leaderships of the government and UNITA. We will see what results from the meeting.

The atmosphere is tense. A meeting was expected to take place this morning to discuss mechanisms to monitor the cessation of hostilities. In view of UNITA's protests, the meeting was suspended. UNITA first wants to obtain a plausible explanation from the government before continuing with the debate. We will see what happens. The meeting is currently under way at the Mulungushi Conference Center. It is only after the meeting that we will know the next steps the military leaderships will take.

[Cambambe] Pedro Manuel, are you aware of movements in Lusaka with regard to the Frontline summit that is scheduled to take place on Saturday [19 November]?

[Manuel] There have been no real movements yet, but reports indicate that there will be a meeting of the Frontline heads of state next Saturday. Thus, all people are waiting anxiously. The Zambian Government is creating the conditions. The heads of state who were here have already returned to their countries. They promised to return on 19 November for the Frontline summit, which will also be attended by some countries that are not members of the Frontline States. [end recording]

#### Views Decision To Withdraw

MB1711214594 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 17 Nov 94

[Report by correspondent Goncalves Inhangica in Lusaka]

[FBIS Translated Text] Less than 72 hours before the official signing of the Lusaka protocol, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] decided to suspend its participation in the military meetings. UNITA's Eugenio Manuvakola told the press today that he made this decision before informing the other party, the mediator, and the observers.

Jonas Savimbi's delegation alleges that the government is not implementing the truce agreement that went into effect yesterday and ends on 22 November. It said the main reason for its behavior is the capture of the northern province of Uige by the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA].

Sources that we contacted here in Lusaka say that this is not true. As a matter of fact, UNITA accused the government of having retaken Uige at 0700 [0600 GMT] today. Exhibiting a map showing the movement of the troops that allegedly violated the truce, the UNITA general contradicted himself by saying that the FAA's advance began with a considerable movement of troops yesterday from N'zeto and reached the city of Uige today.

Political observers here in Lusaka believe that UNITA's stand is premeditated and motivated by strategic, military, and political interests: first, to convince the international community that the government wants to delay the signing of the Lusaka agreement; and second, it wants to obtain military gains in other areas.

Thus, Alioune Blondin Beye has the extra task of resolving this problem that seems to endanger the conclusion of this long process. In an attempt to break the impasse late this afternoon, mediator Alioune Blondin Beye sent one of his officials to the hotel where the UNITA delegation is staying to fetch Eugenio Manuvakola to explain the issue. This was followed by an informal meeting between the leaderships of the two delegations that initialed the Lusaka protocol on 31 October.

Meanwhile, information obtained from official sources by Luanda Television a few moments ago confirms that the meeting has just ended. Our source said that UNITA provided further details to the mediator and observers, apart from the information provided to the press. The government delegation is on standby [preceding word in English] until the mediator reaches an agreement with UNITA because they feel that everything that is being said by Jonas Savimbi's men is a joke. They say that it is time to hear from Alioune Blondin Beye whether UNITA will return to the negotiating table and if the agreement will still be signed on Sunday, despite the premeditated last-minute delays.

Before this stand was adopted by UNITA, the two military delegations had already agreed on eight of the 11 agenda points. Thus, what remains to be discussed are mechanisms for implementing a cease-fire and extending the mandate of the UN Angola Verification Mission. The point referring to UNITA's integration into the FAA forces and the police force was supposed to be concluded today.

#### Armed Forces Says Neither Side Has Violated Truce

MB1711204094 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Twenty-four hours after the truce between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] came into effect, a source from the Angolan Armed Forces General Staff told the ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY [ANGOP] today that the truce is being respected. The source said that since 2000 [1900 GMT] yesterday, there have been no offensive operations by either side that might be described as a violation of the truce. He admitted, however, the possibility of isolated incidents by both the government forces and the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA].



### Spokesman Comments

MB1711220494 London BBC World Service in Portuguese 2030 GMT 17 Nov 94

[Interview with Aldomiro da Conceicao, presidential spokesman, by Joao van Dunem in Luanda; date not given; from the "Ultima Hora" program—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Angolan Government's version of events in the city of Uige is completely different from that of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA].

Luanda says it captured the city before the truce came into force and accuses UNITA of political blackmail to get assistance from the international community. Presidential spokesman Aldomiro da Conceicao had this to say:

[Conceicao] This is a blackmail and propaganda by UNITA, because the city of Uige has been under the control of government forces for more than 72 hours. We wonder why UNITA is using the capture of Uige as a reason for not continuing with the talks. In reality, UNITA is not politically willing to continue with the negotiating process. Moreover, it wants the international community to turn against the government.

[Van Dunem] When you speak of the international community, you are referring to the United States, aren't you? It seems that a U.S. congressman, a spokesman for the Republican Party, has already condemned the Angolan Government, saying its offensive was detrimental to the peace of the world.

[Conceicao] But this is a personal initiative of a congressman who favors UNITA, and it is not very important for us. Although the U.S. State Department condemned the government, it has not taken such radical positions as that congressman.

[Van Dunem] How do you view the Angolan future? Will there be peace or war?

[Conceicao] I believe there will be peace despite these transitory incidents, because we have no other choice but to reach an agreement. As you know, the war has harmed our country. The people are tired of war, and the government is making an effort to reach a negotiated settlement on the conflict. I am convinced that we will reach an agreement, and we will even fulfill the timetable proposed by the mediator. The peace accord will be signed on 20 November.

[Van Dunem] What concessions are the Angolan Government ready to make for UNITA to return to the negotiating table?

[Conceicao] The Angolan Government does not have to make any other kinds of concessions. It is due to the government's initiative that there is a truce. We do not know what more we can do for UNITA to agree to go on with the negotiating process.

[Van Dunem] Is the government fulfilling the cease-fire?

[Conceicao] Yes. Yesterday, the General Staff issued a communique saying that it would give appropriate guidelines to the Armed Forces for them to fulfill scrupulously the cease-fire. However, there have already been violations by UNITA, namely in Cuando Cubango Province, on the outskirts of the city of Menongue, and in Lunda Sul Province.

### UNITA's Manuvakola Comments

MB1711224394 London BBC World Service in Portuguese 2030 GMT 17 Nov 94

[From the "Ultima Hora" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] In Lusaka, Zambia, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has decided to suspend its participation in military talks with the Angolan Government. The head of the rebel delegation accused government troops of having captured the city of Uige this morning, thus violating the truce declared between the two parties yesterday.

With the government also accusing UNITA of a number of violations, one thing seems to be certain—the truce has never been respected, and the signing of the peace accord next Sunday [20 November] seems to be seriously jeopardized.

General Eugenio Manuvakola warned today that UNITA would consider a return to the military option if the government continued on this path. He did not, however, completely close the door to dialogue when he said that UNITA had not abandoned the military talks, but had only suspended its participation.

[Begin recording] [Manuvakola] We have only suspended our participation. We have not abandoned talks. We have no mandate to abandon the talks. On our own initiative, we decided to suspend our participation, as long as the ambiguous situation that we are now experiencing is not clarified. We initialed the Lusaka protocol with pledges to establish peace. Ten days thereafter, meetings cannot take place because of complications caused by the government's military offensives. We experience delays, and then more pledges are made, including a truce. But this morning, the government decides to capture Uige. To us, this does not look like progress toward peace. In other words, if the government has military options, we need to know this, because we also have to organize ourselves for a military solution.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did the violations alleged by UNITA take place only in Uige, or are there more cases of truce violations?

[Manuvakola] The first information we received this morning was that Uige had been taken at 0700 [0600 GMT]. At 0930, when I first received the information, the clashes were continuing. Our forces are outside of the



city, resisting the offensive. We know that the government forces still want to reach the city of Negage, from Uige, today. There are other incursions. I was in Angola over the weekend, and I know that government forces tried to force their way through the Balombo-Alto Ama front. Afterward, they headed toward the Quipeio-Vila Flor front with intentions that were still unknown at the time. There are forces in Kuito, Bie Province, who are trying to reach Andulo. There are forces in Menongue and Longa who want to reach Cuito Cuanavale. There are forces in Waku Kungo who want to force their way to the south. We see this military picture being drawn in the country.

[Correspondent] But the government also accuses UNITA of violating the truce?

[Manuvakola] The government needs to sell that information in order to justify its operations.

[Correspondent] According to what you have just told me, there is no truce at all. Clashes are continuing as they continued yesterday before the truce came into effect.

[Manuvakola] There has not been a single minute of truce because the troops that captured Uige were in northeastern Uige, between Songo and Quimalalo, yesterday. Quimalalo is 15 km northeast of Uige.

[Correspondent] Do the latest events seriously jeopardize the signing of the accord next Sunday?

[Manuvakola] That is what the government wants. We believe that the government is not interested in the accord. I think that the government does not believe in UN mediation. It neither believes in the UN presence nor in UNITA. It believes in a military solution. If the government wants to follow the military option, we seriously need to think about a military option, as well. I would like to say that, so far, we have been waging a conventional war to defend cities and towns, which is not our speciality. Our speciality is a bush war. That is our war. We think that we are not on a path of weakness, but a path of strength. We can adapt ourselves to the new situation quickly, and we will see whether Angola will have peace or war for a few more years. [end recording]

#### FAA Sees Continued Violations

*MB1711221794 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 2100 GMT 17 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] A source from the General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] this evening denounced National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] violations over the past 24 hours, saying this shows a total disregard for the agreed truce.

UNITA shelled FAA positions in Uanga and Masseca, in Cuando Cubango Province, and Canfunfo mining town, in Lunda Norte. The UNITA rebels also attacked FAA installations in Katchiungo and Chongoroi Districts, having occupied the capital of Chongoroi District. The

FAA is still observing the approach of UNITA units toward various FAA positions.

#### UNITA Disputes Government Claim Uige Taken Before Truce

*MB1811080594 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 18 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] led by Jose Eduardo dos Santos has tried yet again to mislead the Angolan and international communities. It did so when it alleged on 17 November that the city of Uige had been taken by the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] before the truce agreement took effect. However, as a proverb says, it is easier to catch a liar than a cripple. The clique in Luanda's Futungo de Belas Palace was not able to doctor its own lie. Oldemiro da Conceicao, the so-called spokesman for that criminal, Eduardo dos Santos, told the following lie in the doubtful tone that is in keeping with liars of his ilk:

[Begin Conceicao recording] The city of Uige has been in our hands for more than 72 hours. [end recording]

It was also in a rather doubtful tone that MPLA-PT Deputy Foreign Minister Joao Miranda contradicted his colleague:

[Begin Miranda recording] Nevertheless, I think it has been under government control for more than 48 hours. The war is not over yet. [end recording]

It is quite clear that this ridiculous lie was poorly concocted by the communist MPLA regime led by Eduardo dos Santos. Let the history of Angola read that on 17 November the communist MPLA-PT government broke the truce agreement that took effect at 2000 on 16 November by taking the city of Uige at 0700 the next day.

#### UNITA Envoy: We Want Guarantees, MPLA Violates Truce

*MB1811073694 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 18 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The war option pursued by the communist and militarist government led by Jose Eduardo dos Santos ever since the Lusaka Protocol was initialed on 31 October has also shown the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] government's complete disregard for the truce agreement of 17 November [date as heard], thereby seriously compromising the signing of the General Peace Accord within the next few days.

The militarist option being pursued by the MPLA-PT regime surfaced yet again when the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] took the city of Uige 11 hours after the truce agreement had taken effect. UNITA Ambassador to the United States Jardo Muecalia had this to say:

[Begin Muecalia recording] I would like to say that the government has been acting in clear contravention of the truce agreed on by both sides on 15 November. Bombs were dropped on Uige throughout the night. At 0700 today [as heard], the government captured Uige. Thus, what is important at this stage is for us to know whether the government is indeed interested in signing an accord that it intends to comply with, or whether we are just wasting our time in Lusaka. The fact is, what is happening on the ground in the country is something completely different from what is being discussed in the Zambian capital.

There are constant bombardments. As I speak to you, the government Air Force continues to drop bombs over just about every district capital in Huambo and Uige Provinces. Well, such behavior is in flagrant violation of the spirit and the letter of the truce agreement we entered into. This is why the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] team now is seeking guarantees from the government so the talks can continue; we want to know for certain whether the government wants war or peace. [end recording]

The UNITA team wants guarantees and it wants to know whether the government wants war or peace, or it will not return to the negotiating table. Jardo Muecalia comments:

[Begin Muecalia recording] Those are precisely the guarantees we seek before we can go ahead with the talks. We initialed the protocol and the government promptly went on an offensive throughout the country. Such moves are contrary to the spirit of reconciliation that should have prevailed at the time. Then we entered into a specific agreement on a truce, and the government proceeded to violate it. It has taken cities that were controlled by UNITA. In fact, the whole thing is rather contradictory because, in terms of the Lusaka Protocol, the city of Uige—or, rather, Uige Province—is one of the provinces that should have been attributed to UNITA. It makes no sense that the government should want to kill people and destroy homes only to hand them over to UNITA again at a later stage. Thus, we want those guarantees before going ahead with the talks or we might just be placing our signatures on pieces of paper of no value whatever. [end recording]

#### **Official Says UNITA Prepared To Continue War**

LD1711225494 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 2200 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] In Angola UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] says it is prepared to resume a war footing if need be. It has accused the government of destroying landing strips, thus making it impossible for Savimbi to travel to Lusaka for the signing of the peace protocol. [passage omitted] Alcides Sakala, the UNITA representative in Brussels, said today that the only solution left to UNITA is to take up arms again:

[Begin Sakala recording] The government has wrecked everything. They breached the preliminary accord signed in Lusaka and have done the same thing to the truce agreement. So the clear option for us is to pursue the war with all the means available. We were ready to go to Lusaka, as we said. UNITA made an effort. UNITA made lots of concessions. The process advanced. Now that the process was about to come to completion with this agreement between the two presidents, the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] launched a military offensive. Do you know that lots of people are being killed in Huambo even as we speak? [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Alcides Sakala said that the government is making light of serious matters, and that if the war continues it will be difficult for UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi to go to Lusaka to sign the peace agreement.

[Begin Sakala recording] They are playing about with very serious matters. They talk of peace in Lusaka, but in the country's interior they have intensified the bombing of municipalities and communes, and they have taken Uige. The indiscriminate bombing of our areas continues. They have been particularly aiming to destroy the small landing strips scattered around the region under our control. This is placing the departure of Dr. Savimbi in jeopardy, and of the delegation that was supposed to accompany him to Lusaka. So we are very skeptical. [end recording]

[Announcer] Luanda's reply is that peace is still possible. Presidential spokesman Aldomiro Vaz da Conceicao said that, despite the mistrust, the negotiating process must not be allowed to stop.

[Begin da Conceicao recording] We must recognize that there is great mistrust. This is understandable after such a long war. We believe that we must go ahead with the negotiating process, and we continue to believe that the process will continue to advance after this so-called misunderstanding. [end recording] [passage omitted]

#### **General: UNITA Must Defend Self, MPLA Pursuing War Option**

MB1811074094 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview he gave Radio France International, General Paulo Lukamba Gato, general minister of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], had the following to say about the Lusaka military talks' suspension:

[Begin recording] [Gato] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] does not allow any opposition. The MPLA does not allow other parties to express themselves freely in the national political arena. Now it is the international community's turn to assume all its responsibilities because it allowed the MPLA to reequip, contract mercenaries, and gain the clout it has today.



[Unidentified correspondent] Thus, the risk faced at this stage is that fighting might resume?

[Gato] UNITA will defend itself. The MPLA is pursuing a military option and this morning's attack on Uige was only further confirmation of that. The MPLA is continuing its attacks and, obviously, UNITA must defend the people and it must defend itself to the very last. [end recording]

## Mozambique

### Finance Minister Views Economic Issues

MB1611172094 Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese  
6 Nov 94 pp 16, 17

[Interview with Finance Minister Eneias Comiche by correspondent Benjamin Wilson; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Wilson] Minister Comiche, what are the forecasts concerning the growth of the gross domestic product (GDP) over the next two years?

[Comiche] According to our program, we expect 6 to 7 percent growth between 1995 and 1997. From 1998, we should experience a growth of between 8 and 9 percent. It is quite possible that we will have a growth rate of between 8 and 9 percent before the turn of the century. I believe that is achievable because, if we have a situation of peace and stability, we will have the chance to mobilize our people through the implementation of appropriate macroeconomic measures and the introduction of incentives so that there is a more productive and effective approach to work, which will result in an increase in productivity.

[Wilson] Do you think it will be possible to achieve that growth even in the face of a reduction in economic aid to Africa?

[Comiche] Well, I think so, because, in the specific case of Mozambique, we need take into account the fact that this is a country that has just emerged from a war. In any event, Mozambique has successfully implemented structural adjustment measures. There were social and economic infrastructures that were destroyed by war, and we must continue our work to persuade the international community not to reduce its aid. I am convinced that such aid will be forthcoming if we are able to maintain our economic growth levels. Those countries and institutions are willing to back those countries showing a certain determination to improve their performance, which is reflected in indicators such as GDP.

I am convinced that we, in Mozambique, will have to continue making every effort to mobilize resources and then we should see some aid coming to us. However, what I wanted to say earlier was that we must not wait for others to step in and help us. We must take it upon ourselves to get that aid through our own efforts, which will help convince others to grant us support. We must

not forget that we are part of this apparently privileged region of Africa, a region on the way to peace and stability. In the event that we are able to develop regional cooperation and to bring uniformity to our policies on economic integration, we should be able to make better use of our country's potential wealth.

I am going to give you a concrete example: We are going to export electricity to South Africa, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Swaziland. As you know, the financial package that has been set up to rehabilitate the powerlines to South Africa will also allow us to export energy to that country—and to Zimbabwe, which will have new powerlines—starting in 1997. Concerning the exploitation of gas in the area of Pande, recent developments should allow us to invest in that project and eventually allow us to export gas to South Africa in 1998. Those are some of the things we need to keep in mind.

Within the context of the region, such developments will also allow us to implement projects if we make good use of energy and mineral resources, as well as railroads and harbors—their infrastructure is there, and they are being rehabilitated—but we need more efficiently run and more effective services.

[Wilson] Minister Comiche, you say we have to rely on our own resources, but how does that view fit in with the recent findings by World Bank officials that economic growth on its own will not be enough to bring down the unemployment rate?

[Comiche] And it is true that it is not. That is why we do not talk so much about economic growth. Rather, we talk about development, because we must also look at other social components. We have spoken about the need to pay close attention to matters pertaining to education, health, and rural development. We are creating the correct conditions for economic agents to show initiative, so they will not be waiting for employment to generate itself. Initiatives must be taken so that there is greater economic activity. In Mozambique's case, we have vast expanses of arable land, a good climate, navigable waters, rivers, and farming is one of the sectors on which we must focus our attention. That is where our economic agents must direct their initiatives, along with the need to exploit natural resources. Thus, internal investment must be stimulated in those areas.

There must be a set of political measures—or, if you prefer, a legal basis that has already been created—to encourage internal investment and the adoption of procedures to cut down on bureaucratic procedures, red tape, and other difficulties, thereby allowing the investor to enter into a new activity with the least possible capital. It must be up to each one of us to take the initiative and do something for one's own benefit, but we must also work for the good of the national economy. We will strive to develop economic activity so we can gradually settle the problem of unemployment.

[Wilson] Minister Comiche, you have mentioned some contacts in Madrid with certain international donors,



and you also said the results of these contacts were rather positive. Would you like to say something specific to support your optimism?

[Comiche] I will mention, for instance, the contacts that I had with the vice president of the World Bank and with the director of the World Bank Department for Southern Africa. We discussed bilateral cooperation issues and preparations for the next meeting of the donor consultative group, which, as you are aware, we have held every year in a bid to bring together all the donor countries and multilateral institutions to obtain the necessary financial resources to support our Social and Economic Rehabilitation Program. Then, we held an in-depth discussion about what the next meeting of the consultative group should entail. We intensified preparations for that meeting, and instructions were given to World Bank cadres to work with us toward that end. In fact, a World Bank mission was here, and we worked with it after we returned from Madrid.

Another example I can give you is that we also carried out studies at the level of the OPEC Fund concerning OPEC-financed projects now under way. These projects concern the social sector, and institutions such as Beira Central Hospital and Xai-Xai Hospital benefit from them. We have also looked at what other projects could be included in the OPEC financing "pipeline" [preceding word in English].

Yet another example I can give you concerns the African Development Bank. We held a meeting with the joint management committee of the African Development Bank Board of Directors—Mozambique is represented on it with a second vice president. That meeting has allowed us to lay the groundwork for what will be the center for rebuilding the resources of the African Development Fund.

[Wilson] Prior to the Madrid meeting, there was talk that the world economy had shown only rather moderate recovery signs. How do you place the Mozambican economy within that context?

[Comiche] Well, it is said in various circles that the recovery of the world economy was rather slow because they are taking into account the weight of the industrialized countries. However, you have to take into account for the fact developing countries have had better performance levels, which have been reflected in terms of higher growth rates.

Concerning the situation of the world economy, it was found that today's prospects are better than they were last year. In concrete terms, while there were only signs of recovery at the beginning of this year, today's indicators are already unequivocal. The world economy's present recovery owes to a number of developing countries in Asia and Latin America. Those countries have shown strong growth, and economies such as those of the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States have also displayed good recovery.

There have also been signs of recovery in Europe and Japan, but, in terms of economic growth, the situation of the developing countries continues to be worrisome. This is particularly the case in sub-Saharan Africa and in most of those countries whose economies are going through a period of transition, notably the former Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. In fact, the situation in sub-Saharan Africa is especially worrisome because the people's standards of living have deteriorated in relation to the beginning of the decade.

[Wilson] What are the prospects for next year's budget?

[Comiche] We do not yet have all the data that will effect next year's budget, but I hope a situation of peace and stability in this country will have a positive effect on it. The election results must be generally accepted by all parties so we can move to build a powerful government that will be able to implement strong measures that lead to a certain budgetary equilibrium in the future. If that happens, I am convinced that we will have good prospects for a budget that will reveal certain layers that will not deal with revenue alone, but that will also focus on reducing public spending. It must be different from what we have had in the past so that we can achieve those goals we have defined as priorities, notably education, health, and rural development.

[Wilson] Recently, there was talk of some changes to the fiscal legislation. How has that been done, and what stage is it at now?

[Comiche] Well, as you know, the principal measures were taken last year. There were changes within the framework of the income tax. Industrial tax was lowered by 15 percent for the agricultural sector, 10 percent for the industrial sector, and 5 percent for the other sectors, thus bringing industrial tax to 35 percent in the agricultural sector, 40 percent for the industrial sector, and 45 percent for the other sectors. There was also a reduction in the income tax, Section A [as published], and the customs tax lists were reviewed, thereby benefiting the industrial sector. For instance, industrial raw materials now pay a uniform 5 percent tax in cases where the tax rate was higher before. The customs duty on raw materials for the industrial sector has been brought down to 2.5 percent, while the customs duty on exports is zero. This new tax applies to all exportable goods. Thus, there has been support for all activities connected with exports.

There was a substantial reduction in customs taxes on agricultural products, and, within the framework of the Law on Investment, a fiscal benefit code was established whereby industrial tax was cut by 50 percent. This cut will affect new investments or investments intended to rehabilitate economic infrastructure destroyed by war. This reduction will be even more sizable when such investments are made in Niassa, Cabo Delgado, or Tete Provinces, where such reductions will be 80 percent during the first 10 years, with additional measures for the subsequent three to six years.

There will also be industrial tax cuts when investments are made in the social sector. They will be 100 percent deductible in the collectible amounts, which will be regarded as losses. Let me give you an example: If what is involved is the construction of a road that will be of service to a factory, a school, or a health center, that is the responsibility of the state, thus there will be a 100 percent deduction in the collectible amount, which will be regarded as a loss.

We are also considering the introduction of a value-added tax, which must take into account the findings of the study, as well as organizational matters pertaining to the companies. The implementation of such measures assumes that these companies have properly organized accounting systems at work.

[Wilson] You recently attended the IMF's Annual Assembly session in Madrid. What is your assessment of the meeting?

[Comiche] Well, my assessment is that it was a difficult meeting for developing countries. I say difficult because some issues were not easy to discuss, particularly during the meetings before the annual assembly.

The IMF's annual assembly meeting took place on 4 and 6 October, but it was preceded by other meetings. Officials from the IMF and the World Bank and representatives from African countries met on 1 October to coordinate their positions before the meetings with the IMF managing director and the World Bank president and the annual meeting. As a matter of fact, during the annual meeting, the sub-Saharan African countries issued a common declaration.

The annual meeting is preceded by the meetings of two committees—an interim committee and a development committee. The interim committee of the IMF Board of Governors, which include 24 members, deals with issues connected to the management and adjustment of the international monetary system, as well as amendment proposals to the IMF's draft accords. The interim committee meeting that took place on 3 October had a tight working schedule. At the meeting, Mozambique was elected as a member. Thus, the 24 sub-Saharan African countries are represented only by two members. The finance minister of the Republic of Mozambique was elected representative of 18 African countries: Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Ethiopia, Gambia, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe. The remaining sub-Saharan African countries are represented on the interim committee by the Gabonese minister of finance, budget, and contributions.

The meeting centered on policies for sustained growth in industrialized and developing countries, development and economic policies of countries in transition, future work and working methods of the interim committee, the report from the committee's managers on access to IMF resources, and the issuing of special drawing rights.

The meeting was characterized by warm discussions between representatives from developing countries and the Group of Seven.

[Wilson] Did you reach any consensus in the discussions?

[Comiche] It was pleasing to note that developing countries are united. For the first time during meetings with the World Bank and the IMF, we felt this strong unity among developing countries. While dealing with serious issues, we found it was necessary not to allow ourselves to yield to divisive maneuvers. Thus, no agreement was reached on one of the main issues that was discussed, the issuing of special drawing rights. Industrialized countries from the Group of Seven and the developing countries each adopted different stands. Since it is in the IMF's interest to find solutions to important issues submitted to the institution, discussions on this topic will continue. The president of the interim committee is expected to call for another meeting without having to wait for the spring session to reach an agreement between the Group of Seven and the so-called "Group of Nine," which represents 11 members of the board of governors. It is important to note that this interim meeting examined developments in the world economy in detail.

[Wilson] And what conclusion was reached on the development of the world economy?

[Comiche] We observed that the world economy has good prospects for growth, with the exception of African countries. African countries are experiencing a difficult situation, and their prospects for coming out of the situation into which they have been plunged are not good. One of the issues that was discussed and supported by participants was the proposal made by the British finance minister, who suggested a two-thirds reduction in the debt of most poor countries. The suggestion was supported by all of the members from developing countries, as well as by some industrialized countries. This proposal will have to be submitted to the Paris Club to see whether countries from the Group of Seven will support it and allow a specific reduction in the debt of the poorest developing countries that are implementing structural adjustment policies.

At the meeting, the interim committee also directed the management council to continue with its work to reinforce the supervision of funds. Likewise, industrialized countries were urged to play a greater role, because they have been more concerned with countries experiencing difficulties in the balance of payments. Thus, it was felt that they should play a multilateral management role.

We made our speech on behalf of the 18 countries I referred to above. We called on industrialized countries and multilateral bodies to support development efforts through favorable financing and a reduction of debt. We also expressed our concern over the fact that from 1990 to 1993, developing countries had a capital inflow of about \$94 million, while Africa alone had a capital

outflow of \$1.8 billion. Africa has not benefited from its resources with the debt repayment. It ends up with greater capital outflow than capital inflow. During the same period—that is, from 1990 to 1993—out of a total of \$34 billion in direct foreign investment, Africa's benefit was only registered at \$1.4 billion.

[Wilson] And what about the meeting of the development committee?

[Comiche] The meeting of the development committee took place on 3 October. It examined issues connected with aid and the transfer of resources, as well as issues connected with population and diversification. The following guidelines were established to increase the effectiveness of assistance: countries receiving assistance must adopt adequate economic policies that conform to their specific conditions, and the effective utilization of assistance requires a strong administrative capacity. We took the opportunity to brief the representatives of multilateral and regional credit institutions about the ongoing process in Mozambique, including the implementation of the General Peace Accord and the electoral process. We received words of encouragement and they expressed their readiness to assist us in the future.

Meanwhile, I felt that assistance to developing countries has tended to diminish, and Mozambique is no exception. The need for resources throughout the world is great. We are not alone. Africa is not the only beneficiary of aid. Today, with the situation experienced by the so-called countries in transition, mainly the former USSR—countries from the Commonwealth of Independent States—and Eastern Europe, the most industrialized countries are paying greater attention to these countries than to African countries.

What is being said about Africa's isolation is really true. This is clearer now than it was in the past. We have to find ways to resolve our problems, have more viable economies, and generate increased resources. There is a need for us to increase savings and use the few resources at our disposal more effectively. The little assistance that is made available to sub-Saharan African countries, particularly the poorest countries, will increasingly be subject to political, economic, and social conditions. This is why we must be aware that we must count on our own efforts and organize our countries and our economies so that we can obtain maximum benefit from the resources at our disposal and use those resources to benefit our people. Continuing to count on foreign aid would be a big mistake, because that aid will not continue to come.



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